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## THE ANGLO-SAXON CHARMS<sup>1</sup>

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### CONTENTS

The Manuscripts and Editions . . . . .	105
General Characteristics of Spells . . . . .	110
Classification of Charms . . . . .	123
Christian Elements in the Charms . . . . .	140
Table of Abbreviations . . . . .	160
List of Charms not included in the Text . . . . .	162
Chronological List of Editions . . . . .	165
Text and Translation . . . . .	164-165
Notes . . . . .	214

### THE MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

No complete and separate edition of the Anglo-Saxon charms has yet been published, nor has any interpretative work been issued which covers the field; but texts of all the known charms have been printed, and many of the poetical incantations have been singly and minutely treated from a linguistic as well as from a literary point of view. The present publication aims to furnish a detailed treatment of the subject. All the Anglo-Saxon metrical incantations are presented in the text, as well as all prose charms with vernacular or gibberish formulas; while exorcisms with Christian liturgical formulas, and Old English recipes involving charm practices, are represented by typical specimens. In the critical treatment of the exorcisms no attempt has been made to cover either the general European or the more limited Germanic field; but while a searching investigation has been made only among the Anglo-Saxon charms, incidental illustrations from other sources — European and Asiatic — are introduced whenever needed to support an argument.

The earliest English charms extant are undoubtedly those in a British

<sup>1</sup> I desire to thank Professor George Philip Krapp of the University of Cincinnati for the kindness with which he gave me the benefit of his scholarship and special knowledge at every turn in this investigation. I am also indebted to Professor William Witherly Lawrence of Columbia University for many helpful suggestions and criticisms.

Museum manuscript (Regius 12 D xvii) which dates from the second half of the tenth century. This manuscript (described by Leonhardi ["Kleinere Ags. Schrift." p. 110] and also by Cockayne [ii, xx ff.]), known as the "Leech Book," is a compilation of recipes drawn, in large part, from Greek and Latin sources. Some herbal,<sup>1</sup> and most of the trans-ferential, amulet, and remedial charms in the following pages are taken from the Regius Manuscript.

Nearly all the amulet and remedial charms not in the "Leech Book" are found in Harley 585 and in Harley 6258 b, both manuscripts in the British Museum. Harley 585, a Northumbrian manuscript of the late eleventh century, is described by Leonhardi (p. 157). It contains two collections of recipes, — the one which Cockayne called "Lacnunga," and the so-called "Herbarium." Harley 6258 b, a manuscript of the middle of the twelfth century (minutely described by Berberich, in his edition of the "Herbarium," pp. 1-4), furnishes another text of the "Herbarium" remedies. This Anglo-Saxon "Herbarium" is really a free translation — with interpolations from Germanic folk-lore — of a book of medical recipes ascribed to Lucius Apuleius (born about A. D. 125).

Some exorcismal and herbal charms appear in the foregoing manuscripts, but a majority of the A and B spells are scattered through sixteen manuscripts variously preserved in the British Museum, in the Cambridge Corpus Christi Library, and in the Bodleian and Hatton Libraries at Oxford. These manuscripts are named and dated in the Table of Abbreviations (p. 160).

Humphrey Wanley was the first to print an Anglo-Saxon charm. In his "*Antiquæ Literaturæ Septentrionalis, Liber Alter*" (Oxford, 1705), he included texts of A 14, A 16, and A 21. The collations were fairly accurate, but were unaccompanied by textual or other comments. Eighty years passed before the text of another spell, A 13, was published by Erasmus Nyerup, in "*Symbolæ ad Literaturam Teutonicam Antiquiorem editæ sumtibus P. Fr. Suhm. (Havniæ, 1787).*" Another gap of sixty years ensued. Then, from the time that B. Thorpe ("*Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*" [London, 1834]) and T. Wright ("*Reliquiæ Antiquæ*" [2 vols., London, 1841]) included one or two conjurations in their respective volumes, critical notices and editions began to appear. A pioneer in charm criticism was Jacob Grimm, who, in 1842, cited a few of the poetical incantations in his "*Deutsche Mythologie*" (Göttingen, 1835), chapter on "*Sprüche und Segen*," and in a later edition of the same work made other citations in the "*Anhang*" under "*Beschwörungen.*" The

<sup>1</sup> The spells here collected (pp. 164-213) are arranged in five groups, designated A, B, C, D, and E respectively. For an explanation of the grouping, see p. 123. All the minor spells not here printed are indicated by double letters: AA, BB, CC, etc. A list of these follows the Table of Abbreviations (see p. 162).

charms in the 1842 edition were accompanied by emended forms and brief critical passages, but those in the "Anhang" were printed without comment. Grimm was of course dealing with the Germanic field in general; yet in his discussion of magic formulas he gave considerable space to Anglo-Saxon material; and while his emendations were not always happy ones, his work is noteworthy for the prominence given to exorcismal lore, for the first German renderings of English spells, and for the first printed appearance of any of the prose charms.<sup>1</sup> The five chronologically succeeding editions each contain from one to six of the charms, copied from Grimm. These editors were J. M. Kemble ("The Saxons in England" [2 vols., London, 1849]), who translated some of the formulas; L. F. Klipstein ("Analecta Anglo-Saxonica" [2 vols., New York, 1849]); L. Ettmüller ("Engla and Seaxna Scôpas and Bôceras" [Quedlinburg, 1850]), who first suggested improvements on Grimm's readings; K. W. Bouterwek ("Cædmon's des Angelsachsen biblische Dichtungen" [2 Teile, Gütersloh, 1854]); and Max Rieger ("Alt- und angelsächsisches Lesebuch" [Giessen, 1861]).

So far, no recognition had been given to the charms as a separate body of Old English material. In 1864, however, T. O. Cockayne published his "Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England" (3 vols., London, 1864), containing the surviving medical books of the Anglo-Saxons, and two sections entitled "Charms." With four exceptions, this book included all extant Old English conjurations, although these were not all arranged consecutively. Indeed, the two sections of charms comprised but a fraction of the whole body of spells, the majority of which were scattered through the several books of recipes. Cockayne did not attempt any interpretative treatment of the incantations, but confined himself to a discussion of the Greek and Latin sources from which many Anglo-Saxon charms were borrowed.

After Cockayne, texts of single charms were issued in reading-books, anthologies, and periodicals. Editions appeared in the works of Rask-Thorpe ("A Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Tongue," 2d ed., revised and translated by B. Thorpe [London, 1865]); Henry Sweet ("An Anglo-Saxon Reader" [Oxford, 1876]); W. de Gray Birch ("On Two Anglo-Saxon MSS. in the British Museum" [in "Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature," 2d series, xi, 463 ff., London, 1878]); R. P. Wülker ("Kleinere angelsächsische Dichtungen" [Halle, 1882]); H. Berberich ("Das Herbarium Apuleii" [Heidelberg, 1902]); and J. M. McBryde, Jr. ("Charms to Recover Stolen Cattle" [in "Modern Language Notes," xxi, 180-183]). In Berberich's book the charms are not designated as such, but merely form part of the recipe collection. Mr. McBryde, in his extended criticism of A 15, points out the separation of

<sup>1</sup> The charms are retranslated into English in J. S. Stallybrass' translation of the fourth edition of Grimm's work, *Teutonic Mythology* (4 vols., London, 1883).



Parts I and II into "formula proper" and "legal oath." In analyzing Part I, moreover, he is the first to distinguish the recurrent Anglo-Saxon charm motives on the principle adopted by O. Ebermann ("Blut- und Wundsegen" ["Palæstra," xxiv, Berlin, 1903]) in investigating German conjurations.

A newly collated edition of the "Leech Book" and the "Lacnunga" — already published in Cockayne's work — was issued by G. Leonhardi ("Kleinere angelsächsische Denkmäler, I") in Wülker's "Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa," Bd. vi (Hamburg, 1905). Leonhardi printed all the prose incantations belonging to the A group, and, with few exceptions, all the B, C, D, and E charms, as well as eighty out of the eighty-four charms and charm remedies referred to, but not printed, in the present edition. The spells are not specified as such, not being distinguished from the rest of the collection of recipes in Leonhardi's book. There is no critical commentary, but variant readings and linguistic notes are appended to the text.

An elaborate philological analysis and criticism of an Old English charm (viz. A 4) was first undertaken by J. Zupitza ("Ein verkannter englischer Bienensegen" ["Anglia," i, 189 ff., 1878]). In another paper, "Ein Zauberspruch" (ZfdA. xxxi, 45, 1887), the same editor similarly discusses A 3. Both articles included texts and German translations of the formulas under examination. In the footsteps of Zupitza followed J. Hoops ("Über die altenglischen Pflanzennamen" [Freiburg i. B., 1889]) and O. B. Schlutter ("Anglo-Saxonica" ["Anglia," xxx, 123 ff., 239 ff., 394 ff., and xxxi, 55 ff.]), who gave scholarly critical editions of B 4 (Hoops) and A 2, A 14, and AA 1 (Schlutter), with German translations appended.

A notable collection of incantations was included in R. P. Wülker's "Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie," Bd. i (Kassel, 1883). It comprised all the Anglo-Saxon verse formulas (except A 3; A 15, Part II; B 5; and AA 18). This was the first authoritative text of any considerable collection of the charms, and was accompanied with variant readings and occasional textual notes. Suggestive critical discussions of single charms or of parts of different charms may be found in the same author's "Grundriss zur Geschichte der angelsächsischen Litteratur" (Leipzig, 1885); in A. Fischer's "Aberglaube unter den Angelsachsen" (Meiningen, 1891); and in H. Bradley's "The Song of the Nine Magic Herbs" ("Archiv," cxiii, 144, 1904). Kögel's "Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur" (Strassburg, 1894) contains several chapters devoted to Old Germanic charm practices, to the origin of charms, to their method of intonation, and to the metrical structure of the rhythmical pieces. Kögel made liberal use of Anglo-Saxon material by way of illustration; and A 1 was subjected to special critical scrutiny and translated into German. A most readable chapter on the rhythmical exorcisms is furnished by S. A.

Brooke ("History of Early English Literature" [London, 1892]). The more prominent folkloristic features of the incantations are brought out in the course of a narrative in which a proto-historical background is imaginatively reconstructed by the editor. Most of the formulas discussed are cited partly or wholly in English translations. "English Medicine in the Anglo-Saxon Times" (Oxford, 1904), by J. F. Payne, includes a treatise on superstitious medicine, notable as the first attempt at a classification of the Anglo-Saxon formulas. But Payne's seven divisions are hardly satisfactory: A 9, for example, being classed as "miscellaneous," while A 5 is called a "charm in the more ordinary sense," and DD 19 an "exorcism of disease." The book is nevertheless valuable for its information about folk-medicine, and for its interpretation of some of the obscure Old English names of plants and diseases that are mentioned in the conjurations. Equally unsatisfactory is the classification of the charms in Alois Brandl's brief critical survey of these pieces in H. Paul's "*Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie*" (ii, 955-957, 2d ed.), under the caption "*Heidnisch-rituelle Gattungen*" (Strassburg, 1901-08). The criticism deals almost exclusively with the verse spells, treats principally of language and metre, and groups the spells with respect to form, leaving content wholly out of account.

Among the translations of incantations not already referred to are several in F. B. Gummere's "*Germanic Origins*" (New York, 1892).

It will readily be recognized that a formal bibliography would be impracticable, owing to the diversity of the topics touched upon and the extensiveness of the literature concerned with those topics. The most important works used and consulted are mentioned either in the foregoing outline or in the Table of Abbreviations (p. 161), while other book and periodical references are given in the footnotes to the following pages or in the notes following the translations.

A large number of spells not really belonging to the earliest English period are popularly designated as "Old English." Instead of the latter phrase, the term "Anglo-Saxon" has therefore been used in the title, since its more specific meaning leaves less room for misconception. It is almost needless to add that wherever the words "Old English" occur in the following pages, they are synonymous with "Anglo-Saxon."

Since Cockayne's quaint but somewhat inaccurate and periphrastic renderings of the spells, no translation of any considerable body of the charms has been published. Five of the more important metrical incantations, however, have been put into excellent modern English by William D. Stevens in Cook and Tinker's "*Select Translations from Old English Poetry*" (Boston, 1903), pp. 164-171. Special attention, finally, deserves to be called to the German translations — already referred to — of O. B. Schlutter. Besides a few minor conjurations, he has given versions of only two important spells, A 2 and A 14; but in these he has com-

bined scholarly accuracy and literary charm in so unusual a manner as to establish a standard which later translators will find it no easy matter to attain.

#### GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SPELLS

The one hundred and forty-six charms considered here include incantations properly so called, as well as numerous remedies depending for efficacy on the superstitious beliefs of the sufferers. Besides the sixty-two typical charms selected for the text, reference will be made to eighty-four others, which will be designated by double letters, AA, BB, etc., according to the group to which they belong.<sup>1</sup> Examination reveals distinct characteristics which severally appear in a certain number of the charms. These characteristics may be arranged under ten headings, as follows: (1) Narrative introduction; (2) Appeal to a superior spirit; (3) The writing or pronouncing of potent names or letters; (4) Methods of dealing with disease-demons; (5) The exorcist's boast of power; (6) Ceremonial directions to patient and exorcist; (7) The singing of incantations on parts of the body and on other objects; (8) Statement of time for performance of rites; (9) Sympathy and the association of ideas; (10) Minor superstitious practices.

(1) *Epic Narrative*. — Among the earliest Indo-European charms, the actual conjuration of the disease-spirit was preceded by a short narrative, in epic manner, of deeds performed by some god or hero. The Atharva-Veda Samhitā, which comprises a multitude of incantations, offers numerous examples of the epic introduction. Thus, a spell against worms begins, "The great mill-stone that is Indra's is the bruiser of every worm. With that I mash together the worms as khālva-grains with a mill-stone." <sup>2</sup>

A charm for deliverance from unseen pests has this introduction: "The sun goes up from the sky, burning down in front the demons; he, the Āditya, from the mountains, seen of all, slayer of the unseen." <sup>3</sup>

Similar narratives precede the two celebrated "Merseburger Zaubersprüche" from a manuscript of the tenth century.<sup>4</sup> The first of these is a spell to secure the release of a fettered prisoner: —

"Eiris sâzun idisi, sâzun hera duoder.  
suma hapt heptidun, suma heri lezidun,  
suma clûbôdun umbi cuoniouuidi:  
insprinc haptbandun, invar vîgandum!" <sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the grouping of the charms, pp. 123 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *AV.* ii, 31.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* vi, 52.

<sup>4</sup> See *Denkm.* i, 15 ff.; a Heathen epic recital is also found in the *Strassburger Blutsegen* (see *Denkm.* i, 18).

<sup>5</sup> "The Idisi once alighted, alighted yonder.  
Some riveted fetters, others stemmed the war tide,  
Others hammered upon the chains:  
Slip from the shackles, escape from the foe!"

The *Idisi* <sup>1</sup> are represented as hovering around a battlefield, checking the fighting, and assisting favorite prisoners to escape. This constitutes the introductory narrative leading up to the actual formula in the last line.

The second Old High German *Zauberspruch*,<sup>2</sup> for dislocations, begins with an episode in the careers of Woden and Balder. Balder's horse suffers a sprain. Three goddesses unsuccessfully exercise their healing arts. At length, Woden,<sup>3</sup> "*sô hê uuola conda*," effects the necessary cure. This story completes the epic portion of the charm; the remainder, beginning "*sôse bēnrenki*," is the incantatory formula, presumably used by Woden himself. From this and the other Old High German and Vedic examples cited before, we can readily understand the purpose of the epic passage. The exorcist, desiring to cure a disease or to invoke favors from the deity, recounts a mythological incident presenting circumstances analogous to the situation in which the patient is found.<sup>4</sup> The procedure of the supernatural beings in the narrative is to serve as a precedent in the case with which the conjurer is dealing. Thus, in the second Vedic hymn above quoted, the action of the sun-god slaying demons is recited as a precedent to the desired destruction of unseen pests. The connection between the epic precedent and the desired result is plain enough in the Merseburg dislocation charm; in the bond spell preceding the latter, the story of goddesses hammering at chains is likewise appropriate to the end in view, — that of liberating fettered captives.

In the two Old High German and in many of the Hindu incantations, it will be observed that the recitation of the mythological precedent frequently concludes with a precise formula, supposedly uttered by the deity or hero who appears in the incident. The potency of a phrase having been proved by its use under supernatural auspices, the conjurer believes that a recital of the same formula will insure the attainment of his end. Thus in the Merseburg charm quoted above, the mythological story is brought to a close by the *sôse bēnrenki* passage, which, first used by Woden to heal the sprain of Balder's horse, is then repeated by human exorcists to heal all sprains whatsoever.<sup>5</sup>

Charms with narrative passages in heroic style occur in nearly all Indo-European languages: they may be found not only in Hindu and Germanic dialects, but in Celtic, Slavonic, and Greco-Italic tongues. In the

<sup>1</sup> Divine women, possibly Valkyries (see Grimm, i, 332).

<sup>2</sup> See *Denkm.* i, 16.

<sup>3</sup> Chief source of magic power (see Grimm, i, 109 f.).

<sup>4</sup> On the connection between magic and mythology in charms, see Chantepie, p. 128.

<sup>5</sup> In numerous Christianized charms the talismanic words are supposed to have been used originally by Christ under circumstances stated in the introduction of the charm. For manifold instances, see O. Heilig, "Eine Auswahl Altdeutscher Segen" (*Alemannia*, 25, 265; 26, 70; 27, 113).

Ugrian group of languages, the magic songs of the Finns present many interesting examples of spells containing the same characteristic. Nos. 10 b, 8 c, and 10 c, in Mr. Abercromby's collection,<sup>1</sup> are notable illustrations of charms beginning with narratives. Among the Anglo-Saxon charms, the epic narration, or its later substitute the parallel simile,<sup>2</sup> is found in Nos. A 1, A 2, A 15, A 16, A 21, A 22, B 4, D 10, AA 4, AA 10, AA 11, AA 13, DD 6, DD 14, DD 19, DD 20. In A 1, a charm against a sudden stitch, the exorcist begins with a short description of the "furious host,"<sup>3</sup> which was fabled to rush over hill and dale. After relating a personal encounter with this mischievous band, he utters the disenchanting spell, —

"Ūt, lytel spere, gif hēr inne sȳ!"

Lines 13-14 indicate that these words were first used by that semi-divine smith, probably the legendary Wayland, on whom the conjurer relies for aid.

(2) *Appeal to a Superior Spirit.* — A second characteristic of the charms is the appeal for aid to some deity or superior power. In almost every one of the Atharva-Vedic spells, the help of Indra, Varuna, Agni, or some important Indo-Aryan divinity, is invoked.<sup>4</sup> It is well known that a similar call upon friendly powers is frequently included in the ceremonial practices of magicians amongst all primitive races. Owing to the influence of the English Church, allusions to the original Pagan gods in Old English charms are exceedingly rare; for the ecclesiastical authorities austere replaced every mention of Pagan idols by the name of "God" or of some one of the patriarchs, saints, prophets, or disciples.<sup>5</sup> For this reason, a large number of the Anglo-Saxon spells contain invocations to Christ;<sup>6</sup> a great many direct their supplications to the Virgin Mary or to the four Evangelists;<sup>7</sup> and others appeal variously to the Trinity, to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and to the twelve apostles. There are, however, six cases in which Pagan powers are appealed to. These are A 4, A 13, B 5, A 1, A 16, and B 4. In the first three, the earth spirit is invoked to aid the magician;<sup>8</sup> in the next two, a mythological spirit or personage is appealed to;<sup>9</sup> and in the last is found an indirect supplication to the power of Woden.<sup>10</sup>

(3) *The Use of Potent Names and Letters.* — The writing or pronouncing of strange names or letters was frequently resorted to by exorcists of many peoples in the course of their magic ceremonies. According to

<sup>1</sup> Aber. ii.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 158.

<sup>3</sup> Grimm, ii, 765 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *AV. passim.*

<sup>5</sup> See p. 148.

<sup>6</sup> For example, A 21, A 22, A 24, B 4, AA 13, etc.

<sup>7</sup> For example, A 14, C 3, etc.

<sup>8</sup> See A 4, line 4; A 13, lines 30, 52; B 5, line 13.

<sup>9</sup> See A 1, line 13; A 16, line 6.

<sup>10</sup> See B 4, line 32.

the "Doctrina de Magia,"<sup>1</sup> magicians use two classes of words. In the first class stand Abracadabra, Sator, Arebo, Tenet, Obera, Rotas, Hax, Pax, Max, Adimax; Jehova, Jesus, Halleluia, Hosanna, and so on. In the second class, "Nomen Dei et SS. Trinitatis, quod tamen invanum assumitur, contra acerrimum summi Legislatoris interdictum, Exod. 20." The use of mystifying names seems to have arisen from a belief, widespread among barbarous peoples, that names were intrinsically bound up with the objects they denoted. Among many tribes, a person dislikes to tell his name, because he believes that doing so will place him in the power of those who learn it.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, he dislikes to name the dead, because the power over departed spirits, which naming them would convey, is believed to arouse their anger.<sup>3</sup> The extension of this aversion from the names of ancestral ghosts to those of the spirit world in general was a simple one; so that, among many peoples, including the Chinese and Hebrews, it was stringently forbidden to refer to the deity by name.<sup>4</sup> The names of rulers and gods were thus invested by the popular mind with a certain mystery and intrinsic power, which made them peculiarly adaptable to the conjurers' uses. By inscribing certain names on sticks, on parchment, on animals' bones, on walls of houses, and even on parts of the human body, the thaumaturgist could impress his patients with the potency of his remedies, and achieve the result — then as now eminently important in medical practice — of influencing the patient's mind through suggestion.

It was but a slight step from the use of awe-inspiring names to the use of any words or symbols unknown and therefore mystifying to simple minds.<sup>5</sup> These mysterious terms were often corruptions of phrases formerly quite intelligible. A juggler's rigmarole current in Elizabethan days was "Hocus pocus, tontus, talontrus, vade celeriter jubeo," of which Ady says that it was "a dark composure of wordes to blende the eyes of the beholders."<sup>6</sup> The "hocus pocus" of the mountebank's formula was simply a degenerate form of the sacred "Hoc est corpus" chanted by the priest at mass.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Conrad of Wittenberg, 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Prin. of Soc.* i, 247.

<sup>3</sup> Exemplified by the Hebrew legend of the witch at Endor. Samuel's ghost, raised by her, cries, "Why hast thou disquieted me, to bring me up?" (I Sam. xxviii, 15). Numerous examples also occur in the *Edda*, *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> See J. Edkins, *Religion in China* (London, 1877), p. 71, and Exod. iii, 13-15. Among the Chinese and Japanese, as well as among other peoples, the use even of the ruler's name was interdicted.

<sup>5</sup> For numerous instances of this mystification in Scythian, Roman, Slavic, etc., charms, see Bolton, 35 ff.

<sup>6</sup> H. Ady, *A Candle in the Dark* (London, 1659), p. 67.

<sup>7</sup> On magical writings, see, further, Wuttke, § 243. On Runes as charm symbols we have the following from the *Edda*, which tells of the origin of the Runes: "The Sage read them, graved them, thought them out from the lees that had leaked out of Cleardripper's skull and out of Hodd-rofni's horn. He [Woden?] stood on the cliff, holding a sword, and

In the Old English charms, powerful names or magical formulas composed of senseless words are found in the following eight ways: —

(a) The names of foreign idols, rulers, and legendary personages are pronounced. Leleloth and Tiecon, Arabian gods, are mentioned in A 18; and Naborredus, a Babylonian monarch, is named in A 19. The fact that these names were unfamiliar to the ancient English rendered their use all the more weird, impressive, and doubtless efficacious.

(b) To replace the names of idols, the Church generally enforced the use of some one of the designations of God or of Christ, such as Deus, Emanuel, or Adonai.<sup>1</sup> According to P. L. Jacob,<sup>2</sup> the words "Emanuel" and "Adonai" were believed during the dark ages to have special potency with evil spirits.

(c) The names of saints, of apostles, and especially of the evangelists, were also permissible substitutes for Heathen appellations. In three charms (A 2, AA 11, and AA 14) the celebrated seven sleepers of Mount Celion are mentioned.<sup>3</sup>

(d) An incoherent jumbling of words, miscellaneously derived from Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Gaelic, and other tongues, was relied upon to work miraculous cures. A 10, A 11, A 12, B 7, D 10, E 7, and E 9 are gibberish charms of this nature.<sup>4</sup>

(e) This gibberish was often arranged in rhythmical lines, with frequent assonant rhymes. Such jingles were in great favor even among later Greek physicians of a superstitious bent.<sup>5</sup> Thus Alexander of Tralles gives the following charm as a tried remedy for gout: —

"Meu, treu, mor, phor,  
Teux, za, zor,  
Phe, lou, chri,  
Ge, ze, on."<sup>6</sup>

a helm on his head. Then spake Mim's Head . . . the first wise word, and told the staves true. They were engraven on the shield that stands before the shining God, on Allwaker's ear, and Allswift's hoof, and on the wheel that turns under Rungni's car, on Sleipni's teeth, and on the sledge-bands, on the Bear's paw, on Brage's tongue, on the Wolf's claw, and the Eagle's beak, on the bloody wings, and the Bridge's end; on the Mid-wife's palm, on the healing footprint, on men's amber and gold, on talismans, on wine and wort, on the Sibyl's seat; on Gugni's point and Grani's breast; on the Norn's nail and the Owl's beak. — All that were engraven were scraped off, and mixed with holy mead, and sent away on every side. The Anses have some, the Elves have some, some the wise Wanes have; mortal men have some. There are Beech-runes, Help-runes, Love-runes, and great Power-runes, for whomsoever will, to have for charms, pure and genuine, till the world falls in ruin. Profit by them if thou canst." — *Sigrdrifumöl*, 14-20 (trans. from C. P. B. i, 29).

For the use which Anglo-Saxon warriors made of runes and other symbols inscribed on weapons, see *Sal. and Sat.* lines 317-337.

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, charms D 7, D 9, D 10, E 1.

<sup>2</sup> P. L. Jacob, *Curiosités des sciences occultes* (Paris, 1885), p. 77.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 149.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 125 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Eng. Med.* 124.

<sup>6</sup> Alexander Trallianus, xi, 1.

The Anglo-Saxon gibberish jingles are A 5, A 6, A 7, A 8, A 9, A 19, B 6, and D 6.<sup>1</sup>

(f) Mysterious letters and numbers are the magic symbols in spells D 7, D 8, D 9, D 11, D 12, and E 6. Alpha and Omega, potent letters among the Greek physicians,<sup>2</sup> are also employed in A 12, A 19, and D 8.

(g) One of the chief arts of the necromancer was foretelling the future by means of geometrical figures or of signs connected with the earth.<sup>3</sup> This was known as geomancy. Geomantic predictions depended on the figures made by connecting points taken at random on the earth's surface, or on the disposition of the particles in a handful of seed, grains, or dust thrown haphazard.<sup>4</sup> The square, the rectangle, the triangle, the circle, and the pentagram were regular figures widely used in geomancy, which was already a popular method of divination in the days of the Chaldeans.<sup>5</sup> Among the English charms, we find only the circle in D 11, and a somewhat complicated arrangement of rectangles in D 12.

(h) As the power of the Church increased, prayers, paternosters psalms, hymns, crosses, and other Christian liturgical forms and marks were employed to disguise grossly Heathen ceremonies. A 24, D 7, D 10, AA 1, BB 3, BB 14, BB 16, EE 5, EE 28, furnish examples of this.

(4) *Methods of dealing with Disease-Demons.* — In exorcism the attempt is made to expel mischief-working demons by flattery, threat, command, or even by nausea and physical violence, the patient's body serving as the spirit's proxy in the last two methods of treatment. In the bee charm, A 4, the evil spirits possessing the swarming insects are coaxingly addressed as *sigewif* ("victory-dames"), a title of honor belonging to the Valkyries. Whether experience had taught that a soft answer turneth away the wrath even of demons, or whether the belief that a demon might be conciliated by fawning had become deeply rooted, it is certain that the coaxing treatment was applied by sorcerers, and has indeed not been entirely abandoned by professional witches, thaumaturgists, and necromancers, even at the present day.<sup>6</sup>

When the exorcist believed himself powerful enough to cope with the hostile spirit or conjurer, he abandoned flattery and resorted to threats.

<sup>1</sup> On jingle charms, see pp. 125 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, xxii, 16; see also p. 124, note 6.

<sup>3</sup> The sign of the Macrocosm in *Faust*, Part I, line 429, was a geometrical figure "possessing the magic power to give Faust a vision of the 'grand harmony.'" See Goethe, *Faust*, Pt. I, ed. Calvin Thomas (Boston, 1901), p. 257, note to line 429. Cf. the mystical signification of lines, circles, triangles, etc., in F. Hartmann, *Mysterien, Symbole, und magische Kräfte* (Leipzig, 1902), p. 69 f.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the account of geomancy in *The Complete Works of Chaucer*, ed. by W. W. Skeat (6 vols., Oxford, 1894); note to A 2045, *Knights Tale*. Skeat says that geomantic figures are formed from dots jotted down hurriedly on paper.

<sup>5</sup> See Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination* (4 vols., Paris, 1879), ii, 149.

<sup>6</sup> See *F. L. S. passim*; and Aber. i, 349.



Thus in the cattle charm A 16 the good magician openly warns the evil wizard to beware, and states that he will combat the latter's "powers, his might, his influence, and his witchcraft." Again, in A 23, the Devil's departure is demanded under threat of pursuit by Christ; and in DD 19 we read, "Fevers, depart: 714,000 angels will pursue you." <sup>1</sup>

Where threats and flattery did not avail, physical violence was believed to be successful. The body possessed by the evil spirit was vigorously scourged for half an hour, pierced with sharp instruments,<sup>2</sup> or similarly rendered uncomfortable for ghostly habitation. This method of procedure is followed in E 2, a charm for an elf-shot horse; that is, a horse ill from the effects of shots supposedly sent by elves. Part of the remedy consists in pricking a hole in the horse's left ear and in striking it on the back with a cudgel. In E 3 we learn a remedy for lunacy, — a disease which, more than any other, presupposed demoniac possession. The demented one will be cured, runs this leechdom, if he be soundly thrashed with a stout whip of porpoise-skin. In E 4, evil spirits are driven out of swine by reeking the animals with the smoke of burning herbs. Certain fumes, it was believed, were obnoxious to the sensitive fiend, and would surely induce his flight. In like manner the smoke from burning smearwort is declared in E 5 to be efficacious against demoniacal possession. If smoking and whipping failed, the resourceful exorcist had in his bag still other devices to compel the evacuation of mischievous sprites. He could concoct revolting or unpalatable mixtures, which were administered to the luckless patient, and were calculated to dislodge the most insensible of demons. Animal excrements were favorite ingredients in these compounds. Thus, in E 11, a man possessed by a dwarf <sup>3</sup> is directed to eat a cake of which the chief ingredient is white hound's dung; in EE 19, hound's vomit is recommended against dropsy; and in A 5, a salve composed of saliva and cow's excrement is prescribed for internal difficulties.

Sometimes the conjurer's power is such that a mere order to depart suffices to expel the unwelcome visitor. Exorcism by command was not uncommon among the Jews. Thus we read in the New Testament, — "And in the synagogue there was a man, which had a spirit of an unclean devil. . . . And Jesus rebuked him, saying, Hold thy peace, and come out of him. And . . . he came out of him." <sup>4</sup>

In a Vedic spell against fever, the necromancer commands, "O fever, together with thy brother, the *batāsa*, and thy sister, the cough, together with thy cousin, the scab, go to yon foreign people." <sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Christ "rebuking" the fever (Luke iv, 39).

<sup>2</sup> For laws against such treatment, see Nos. 25 and 26, p. 142.

<sup>3</sup> *Dweorg on weg ið donne*, literally, "to remove or expel a dwarf;" that is, probably to cure convulsions.

<sup>4</sup> Luke iv, 33 and 35.

<sup>5</sup> *AV.* v, 23, verse 12.

A similar command is given in A 23 to the Devil, alleged cause of a strange swelling. Frequently the disease-demon is bidden to repair to a definite place. Finnish sorcerers send the malevolent spirit into the middle of the sea, to fens and swamps, to boiling whirlpools, to copper hills, and to desert wastes.<sup>1</sup> The Anglo-Saxon conjurer orders the witches who provoke a sudden stitch to fly to a mountain,<sup>2</sup> while a demon responsible for a malignant ulcer is dispatched "to the nearest hill."<sup>3</sup>

(5) *The Exorcist's Boast of Power*. — In many Indo-European spells the exorcist begins with an account of his own prowess and a recital of his achievements. No doubt this is intended to intimidate the spook or to impress the victim. In A 1 the exorcist tells how he can successfully withstand the attacks of spear-hurling kobolds, and how his power will enable him to save his patient. In A 16 the magician called in to restore lost cattle announces his ability to find the animals, to guard them from harm while still astray, and to cope with the spectre or wizard responsible for the theft. "All grasses may spring up with herbs, the sea vanish away, all the salt water, when I blow this venom from thee," says the exorcist in B 4,<sup>4</sup> and in B 5 he confidently proclaims the infallibility of his remedy.<sup>5</sup>

(6) *Ceremonial Directions to Patient and Exorcist*. — Many of the incantations and charm remedies outline a definite course of action for the patient or for the exorcist. In A 1 the sufferer is directed to seek shelter under linden-trees when attacked by malicious spirits. In E 1, pregnant women who cannot bring the foetus to maturity are instructed to perform four rather complicated ceremonies. The exorcist who wishes to acquire proficiency in curing abdominal pains must catch a dung-beetle and its excrement in both hands, wave the creature vehemently, and throw it away backwards without looking.<sup>6</sup> The accurate fulfilment of these instructions endows the sorcerer with healing-powers for a twelvemonth. As the Church began to exercise its authority in thaumaturgic matters, more numerous and more elaborate ceremonials of a Christian character were added to the charms. Such lengthy and involved directions as those specified in BB 6, a spell for the "dry disease,"<sup>7</sup> illustrate the extreme to which charm ritual was finally carried. It is interesting to note the main observances which this charm prescribes. The sufferer must dig around a sorrel-plant, sing three paternosters, pull out the plant, sing "sed libera nos a malo," take five slices of the herb and pound them with seven peppercorns, sing the psalm "Miserere mei, Deus," twelve times, likewise the "Gloria in excelsis Deo" and another paternoster; then, at daybreak, add wine to the pre-

<sup>1</sup> Aber. 10 a, 17 a, d-f, m-p, r-u, w.

<sup>2</sup> See charm A 1.

<sup>4</sup> See lines 60-62.

<sup>6</sup> See charm C 2.

<sup>3</sup> Charm A 3.

<sup>5</sup> See lines 10-15.

<sup>7</sup> Inflammation.

paration. Again, he must stand toward the east in the middle of the morning, make the sign of the cross, turn himself around, following the course of the sun from east to south and west, then drink the much-hallowed potion. The originator of this comprehensive ceremony was obviously an early advocate of strenuosity; for he concludes with the injunction, "After drinking, let him [the patient] go and stand for a time, before he seek rest."

Like BB 6, charms A 13, C 3, C 4, D 1, D 2, E 2, BB 12, and CC 2 contain circumstantial rehearsals of prescribed observances.

With the sixth characteristic we may include the naming of the patient, a practice as world-wide as conjuration itself. In many Greek, Roman, Hindu, and Semitic charms, the utterance of the patient's name (not to speak of the name of the patient's father) was regarded as essential to the success of the incantation.<sup>1</sup> Instances of this custom occur only six times in the Anglo-Saxon charms. This infrequency may be explained on the assumption that the naming of the patient was understood. The six instances occur in A 10, A 24, AA 11, CC 2, DD 19, and DD 20. In A 10 the necromancer is directed to "name the man and his father," while only the patient's name is to be mentioned in the remaining spells. Evil spirits as well as their victims are designated in classical and Oriental magic by proper names. Not so in the Anglo-Saxon charms, where disease-demons, repeatedly referred to as elves, dwarfs, night visitors, and so on, are never individually designated. If the word *diabolus* can be regarded as a specific title for the Devil, a few Christian spells may be said to form an exception to this statement.

(7) *The Singing of Incantations on Parts of the Body and on other Objects.* — A peculiar feature of the English incantations is the frequent injunction that they be sung or written on certain parts of the body. The left side appears to have been preferred to the right. Charms A 2, A 5,<sup>2</sup> A 11, and B 5 are to be chanted into the left ear; charm D 9, upon the left breast; while D 12 requires a magic writing to be placed in the left shoe, and DD 18 an amulet on the left thigh. The right side of the body is mentioned four times, — in charms A 2, A 5,<sup>3</sup> B 4, and DD 14, which are all to be sung into the right ear. B 4 is also to be sung into a man's mouth; A 11, on his head; A 23, on his little finger; and A 5, A 20, B 4, and B 5, on the wound or seat of pain. In E 6 a writing is to be put on the arm, in E 7 on the nose. Very frequent is the direction to place crosses on head, tongue, breast, limbs, and other parts of the body.<sup>4</sup> Again, A 15 directs the spell to be sung on a horse's fetters and bridle, on his footprints, and on the four sides of a house. If disease be contracted

<sup>1</sup> See Schrader, 573; Pliny, xxii, cap. 16; *Eng. Med.* 120; and F. Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, tr. by W. R. C. (London, 1877).

<sup>2</sup> In the left ear of a female sufferer.

<sup>3</sup> In the right ear of a male sufferer.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, E 8, BB 14, EE 5, EE 28.

indoors, charm AA 13 is to be sung over water; if outdoors, the same charm must be recited over butter.

(8) *Statement of Time for Performance of Rites.* — When the observances accompanying an incantation were of special importance, the time at which they were to be performed was recorded. Night seems to have been considered the most favorable season for these, as for most other essays in the supernatural arts: for, of the ten instances in which the time of ceremony is stated in the charms, nine prescribe the hours of darkness. The “Kāuṣika-Sūtra” of the “Atharva-Veda,” commenting on a spell to heal serious wounds,<sup>1</sup> declares the proper time for charm-recital to be “when the stars are disappearing;”<sup>2</sup> that is, just before daybreak. Practically the same time is set four times in the English charms. In A 13, an important rite is to be observed “at night before it dawns;” and in BB 6, BB 7, and BB 9, the important step is to be taken “when the night and day are divided,” that is, just before dawn. In B 2, Thursday<sup>3</sup> eve is the time set; in C 1, “after sunset;” in AA 13, “at night before going to bed;” in BB 12, “when the moon is seventeen nights old, after sunset, before moonrise;” in DD 3, “when the moon is on the wane in April or October;” and in EE 7, “every month when the moon is five, fifteen, and twenty nights old.” In only two instances is daytime assigned for spell ceremonial. In A 13, sods are to be restored to their original places “ere the setting of the sun;” while in BB 6, various rites are fixed “for the middle of the morning.”

(9) *Sympathy and Association of Ideas.* — The efficacy of many of the charms depends upon a real or supposed association of ideas between the rite performed or spell recited, on the one hand, and the object sought for, on the other. This feature will be better understood by regarding an illustration from modern superstition. Lancashire country folk believe that warts can be cured by stealing a piece of butcher’s meat and rubbing the warts with it. The meat must then be buried in a secluded spot; as it decays, the warts disappear.<sup>4</sup> The object used in the ceremonial need have no such direct connection, however, with the afflicted body. Merely a representation of the body will serve. Thus among the Chipewas a sorcerer transfers a disease by making a wooden image of his patient’s enemy, and piercing it to the heart.<sup>5</sup> The same custom had its vogue in European countries, and the recorded survivals of it are numerous.<sup>6</sup> Hardy, for instance, makes one of his Wessex characters jab

<sup>1</sup> AV. iv, 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Kauc.* 28, 5. Cf. Fauberht of York: “Nolite exercere quando obscuranteor” (cited Brand, Pt. II, p. 55).

<sup>3</sup> Thursday, Thunar’s day, was the lucky day, *par excellence*, among the Germans (see Grimm, ii, 953).

<sup>4</sup> *Lan. Lore*, 78.

<sup>5</sup> H. R. Schoolcraft, *Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi* (London, 1855).

<sup>6</sup> See F. L. S. *passim*; and cf. D. G. Rossetti, *Ballad of Sister Helen*.

needles into a wax figure representing an enemy,<sup>1</sup> much in the manner approved by Voodoo practitioners in the southern United States. Again, the mention of something which often bears only a remote relation to the subject of the charm is considered sufficient to achieve the sorcerer's purpose. In two of the charms for stolen cattle, A 21 and A 22, this formula occurs: "The cross of Christ was hidden and has been found." The associated idea is, "so may these lost cattle be found."

In another cattle spell, A 15, the exorcist says, "The Jews did the worst of deeds to Christ; they tried to conceal what they could not conceal." Here the sympathetic idea is, "so may the thief be unable to conceal the stolen cattle." This sympathy between the simile and the effect desired is found particularly in Christian spells. Blood and fire are to stand as still as Christ hung on the cross,<sup>2</sup> as the Jordan stood at the baptism,<sup>3</sup> as mankind will stand at the Judgment Day.<sup>4</sup> The fire is to keep in its sparks as Mary kept her maidenhood,<sup>5</sup> blood is to stop flowing as Christ's blood stopped when Longinus pierced His side,<sup>6</sup> the worm is to feel such pain as Peter felt when he saw the Lord suffering,<sup>7</sup> the hoof to break as little as ever God broke His word,<sup>8</sup> the babe to leave the womb of the parturient woman as Lazarus left the dead when Christ commanded,<sup>9</sup> the theft to become as well known as Bethlehem was renowned, and the thieves to be punished as the Jews were punished.<sup>10</sup>

These similes, with parallel narratives drawn from the Bible, are found in the Christianized charms. In the more decidedly Heathen spells, similes are likewise present, but the parallels are taken from natural phenomena. Thus in A 16, line 16, we read, "May he be destroyed as fire destroys wood," etc.; and similar comparisons appear in A 3 and in B 5, line 13.

(10) *Minor Superstitious Practices.* — Heathen reminiscences and superstitious directions abound in the Old English charms. Only the most striking instances of these will be pointed out here.<sup>11</sup> Widely prevalent among Germanic peoples was a belief in the virtues and sanctity of running water.<sup>12</sup> Each brook, river, and stream was supposedly haunted by a spirit, who might be helpful or harmful, and must be flattered and propitiated by sacrificial offerings. The water-sprites and water-fairies of English folk-lore were spirits of this kind, and such was

<sup>1</sup> *The Return of the Native.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* iii, 494.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* iii, 500.

<sup>7</sup> Grimm, iii, 501.

<sup>9</sup> Charm DD 14.

<sup>2</sup> Grimm, iii, 503.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* iii, 501.

<sup>6</sup> Charm AA 10.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* iii, 502.

<sup>10</sup> See Charm A 15; and cf. Grimm, iii, 505. Other instances of association of ideas can be found in C 5, EE 18, and EE 30. See also *AV.* 59, 73, 126.

<sup>11</sup> Less important ones will be commented on in the notes to the several charms.

<sup>12</sup> See Gum. 394; Grimm, i, 484 ff.; and Burchard von Worms, i, 94, *interrogationes*, 40-54. But see Black, 104, for Chinese objections to running water.

the water-elf who inflicted the malady for which charm B 5 is the magician's cure. Most commonly, water-spirits were believed to be benignly inclined rather than the contrary, so that the streams and torrents over which they ruled came to be regarded as possessing fabulous medicinal properties.<sup>1</sup> Chrysostom, preaching an Epiphany sermon at Antioch in A. D. 387, said that people at that festival drew running water at midnight and kept it for thaumaturgic purposes. After the lapse of a whole year it was still fresh and uncorrupted.<sup>2</sup> A German superstition of great antiquity requires running water to be drawn before sunrise, downstream and silently; this water remains fresh, restores youth, heals eruptions, and makes young cattle strong.<sup>3</sup> The decrees of numerous church councils,<sup>4</sup> the testimony of historians,<sup>5</sup> the laws of the Anglo-Saxons and of the Scandinavians, and passages from the "Pœnitentiale,"<sup>6</sup> all prove that well and water worship was a deeply-rooted institution among the Teutonic peoples, and enable us to understand why running water plays such an important part in Germanic folk-lore. In charms A 11, C 1, D 3, E 8, E 13, BB 3, and CC 2, the procurement or use of running water is essential to a successful treatment of the several ailments.<sup>7</sup>

The credulous patient is enjoined to practise still other superstitious rites. According to instructions in B 1, he must himself "be clean," while in BB 3 he must secure the assistance of an "immaculate" person. In B 3, C 1, BB 3, and CC 2, all observances must be performed in silence. To cure internal difficulties, BB 10 demands that celandine-root be taken out of the ground "with the two hands turned upwards." For flux of blood, BB 12 prescribes that mulberries be plucked with "the thumb and the ring-finger of the left hand." BB 5 directs the medicinal herb to be taken "with averted head;" while in BB 7 and BB 9 the patient is told to walk three times round the herbs before uprooting them. A 12, A 23, and B 5 furnish instances of the well-known wonder-working method of expelling a disease-fiend by drawing a magic line around the scene of his activities. The stroke made around the victim in A 12, the line around the sore in A 23, the "healing wreaths wreathed round wounds" in B 5, and the circle scored with a sword round the herbs in B 3, are supposed to render the circumscribed space immune from further assaults of the mischievous demon. Pouring wax on the hoof-tracks of stolen cattle, and lighting candles, are two remedies prescribed

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the mineral properties of certain of the so-called healing springs (*Heilbrunnen*) strengthened this belief.

<sup>2</sup> *Opera*, tom. ii, 369 (ed. Montfaucon, Paris, 1818); also cf. Gum. 390; and see note to B 5, line 12.

<sup>3</sup> Jul. Schmidt, *Reichenfels* (Cassel, 1835), p. 121.

<sup>4</sup> For example, *Concil. Turon.* ii, anno 566, can. 22.

<sup>5</sup> Gregory of Tours, ii, 10.

<sup>6</sup> See laws Nos. 5 and 10-14 inclusive, quoted p. 141.

<sup>7</sup> For further Anglo-Saxon uses of running water, see Fischer, 39.

in A 15. These are additional instances of sorcery effected by association of ideas. The wax dipped on the footprints which the animals have long left behind them is believed to glue their hoofs to the ground wherever they may be; while the lighted candles symbolize the miraculous exposure, to the owner, of the whereabouts of cattle and thieves.

Saliva has always had a thaumaturgic if not a therapeutic value in folk-medicine. Spitting on the painful spot will prove helpful, according to charm A 20.<sup>1</sup> In C 1, the healer is commanded to expectorate three times while treating a case of leprosy; and spitting is part of the ceremonial in other charms, such as E 1. Color is also a feature of the magic rituals. Butter churned from a cow of one color, "red or white and without spots," forms part of the treatment in B 7 and BB 4. A cow of one color must likewise furnish the milk which is to be drunk by women suffering from the "loathsome late birth,"<sup>2</sup> while horn from a tawny ox is prescribed in E 2.

The numbers 3 and 9 occur very much more frequently than any other numbers in the charms. 3<sup>3</sup> occurs eighteen times; 9, sixteen times. Thus, certain rites are to be performed three times in C 1 and C 3, and on three successive days in A 2, A 8, and E 14. Chants are to be sung three times in AA 10 and EE 10. Three stones, three nails, three cups, three leek-leaves, three herbs, and three incisions are mentioned in D 4, E 2, E 13, AA 14, BB 1, and CC 2 respectively. Finally, the conjurer who employs charm A 16 agrees to restore the stolen cattle within three nights. The number 9 is put to similar uses. Certain incantations are to be sung nine times over a soft-boiled egg in A 8; over a barley loaf, B 6; over butter, B 7. Nine masses, nine paternosters, and nine "Miserere mei," are to be sung in the course of many of the Christian charms. Certain things are to be done for nine mornings, E 14; and nine days, E 13. Again, nine herbs and nine twigs are mentioned in B 1, nine wafers in AA 15; while to cure lunacy, the directions in B 2 are, that an herb must be plucked when the moon is nine nights old.

Strangely enough, the number 7, so prominent in Oriental and in modern superstition and mysticism,<sup>4</sup> occurs only twice; namely, in A 2 and in EE 1. 33, a favorite charm number in Indo-European folk-lore, is found twice in B 4.<sup>5</sup> The only other number which receives frequent mention is 12, which is found six times.

Not the least curious of these superstitious rites is the recipe in a charm against snake-bite. "Against snake-bite," run the directions, "if the man procure and eat rind taken out of Paradise, no poison will harm him."<sup>6</sup> The scribe who copied the remedy, naïvely added, "þæt hio wære tor begete," that such rind was hard to get.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Crombie, p. 249.

<sup>2</sup> See E 1.

<sup>3</sup> Not counting 111 = *thriwa*.

<sup>4</sup> See M. D. Conway, *Demonology and Devil-Lore* (2 vols., New York, 1889), i, 256 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See note to B 4, line 4.

<sup>6</sup> See E 9.

The worship of the dead, once prevalent among Germanic tribes,<sup>1</sup> has left its traces in charms E 1 and EE 17. It has already been noted that primitive peoples very generally imagined that the dead influenced the destinies of the living.<sup>2</sup> The dead were accordingly worshipped by those who wished their aid, and parts of corpses were highly valued as amulets and periapts. Numerous Anglo-Saxon laws against bewitching by means of the dead attest the vogue which the practice enjoyed among our ancestors. The canons of Edgar, and the penitentials of Egbert,<sup>3</sup> expressly forbid sacrilege at the grave, and witchcraft by means of the dead.<sup>4</sup> Our charms are instances in which these laws were violated. Charm E 1 contains the following directions: "The woman who cannot bring the foetus to maturity must go to the sepulcher of a dead man and step thrice over the sepulcher."

EE 17 is a spell against a "boring worm." The remedy consists in burning a human skull to ashes, and applying the powder externally. An identical custom prevailed among many primitive tribes, and survived among more civilized peoples even to the nineteenth century.<sup>5</sup> Until recently the powder of a man's burnt bones was highly esteemed in Scotland as a cure for epilepsy.<sup>6</sup> As late as 1865, a collier's wife is said to have applied to a sexton for "ever so small a portion of human skull for the purpose of grating it similar to ginger." The powder was to be added to a mixture to be administered to a girl suffering from fits.<sup>7</sup>

Before dismissing this subject, it may be remarked that almost all the superstitious rites treated in this chapter have their modern survivals or analogues.<sup>8</sup>

#### CLASSIFICATION OF CHARMS

Anglo-Saxon charms may be divided into five groups, as follows:—

- A. Exorcisms of diseases or disease-spirits.
- B. Herbal charms.
- C. Charms for transferring disease.
- D. Amulet charms.
- E. Charm remedies.

<sup>1</sup> See Mogk in *Grdr.* i, 932.

<sup>2</sup> Modern spiritualism is obviously an idealized survival of this belief.

<sup>3</sup> See laws, p. 140.

<sup>4</sup> That these practices outlasted legal prosecution is attested by a law, passed in the English Parliament as late as 1604, bestowing the death penalty on any one who exhumed a corpse or any part of it to be used in "witchcrafte, sorcerie, charme or inchantment" (see *Statutes of England*, iv, pt. 2, 1028).

<sup>5</sup> For instances see Waitz, iii, 388; and A. R. Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro* (London, 1853), p. 498.

<sup>6</sup> Black, 96.

<sup>7</sup> *Analecta Scotica*, ed. J. Maidment (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1834-37), ii, 54. Cf. the popular medicinal uses of mummy; note, for example, the handkerchief dyed in mummy (Shakespeare, *Othello*, iii, 4, 74).

<sup>8</sup> See instances in *F. L. S.*



A. *Exorcisms*. — In the first group belong charms A 1-24 of the text. The one characteristic common to the members of this group is a well-defined incantatory formula, the chanting of which is to produce curative or beneficial results. These charms may be arranged in four subdivisions:—

I. Charms A 1-4. — These are incantations distinctly reminiscent of Heathendom. The principal features of these charms are: (a) they are literary compositions in poetic style; (b) they have a definite form, charms A 1 and A 2 even possessing an elaborate structure; <sup>1</sup> (c) they contain numerous allusions to Heathen beliefs, customs, and practices; (d) the formula is in the vernacular.

II. Charms A 5-12 (Gibberish Charms). — These conjurations, unlike the preceding ones, are crude, formless pieces, destitute of literary merit. Their distinguishing feature is a meaningless formula composed of a jumble of more or less obscure words. Occasionally a Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Gaelic, or Anglo-Saxon word appears, and a few words seem to have had their origin in one or other of these languages; but the derivation of a majority of the words is not ascertainable.

An attempt has been made in the preceding pages to outline the possible origin of gibberish charms.<sup>2</sup> Whether the Anglo-Saxon charms of this type arose independently in Britain, or were in part borrowed by Saxon exorcists from classical sources, cannot be conclusively determined. Gibberish incantations, similar in form to some of the English rigmárols, certainly existed among the Romans, Greeks, and Phœnicians, and are interspersed among recipes in classical books of medicine to which Anglo-Saxon leeches had access.<sup>3</sup> But since gibberish spells have been found among peoples widely different in race,<sup>4</sup> it may fairly be argued that English spells arose among the English themselves, or at least among their Germanic ancestors.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, it is not unlikely that acquaintance with classical doggerel charms caused exorcists to introduce into the native spells modifications of vocabulary and metre, which led to a general resemblance between English and Græco-Roman gibberish formulas.<sup>6</sup>

(a) Jingle Charms. — Charms A 5-9 exhibit such differences from the remaining gibberish spells as to warrant a separate subdivision. They are marked by a rhythmic but loose and irregular measure, which

<sup>1</sup> See the explanatory notes on these charms.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> See Bolton, 39 ff.; *Eng. Med.* 119 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Bolton, 63 ff., for instance, cites spells in Penobscot, Japanese, Mahratti, Turkish, Armenian, etc., which strongly resemble our gibberish charms.

<sup>5</sup> See "Wandering Words," by T. W. Sandrey, in *The Cornishman*, 1880.

<sup>6</sup> The mediæval exorcist drew powerful spells from the Hebrew Cabala, with its mystic letters and artificial words. Thus the word *Agla* — formed from the initials of the Hebrew sentence "Thou art a mighty God forever" — was widely used (see Wuttke, p. 264). It is possible that the runes of the early charms were replaced by Cabalistic letters.

makes the name "jingle charm" appropriate. In this respect, and in some others which remain to be mentioned, they are strikingly like the counting-out rhymes of children.<sup>1</sup> The question naturally arises whether there is any relationship between the two forms, and whether the doggerels used by children can possibly be survivals of magic formulas similar to our jingle charms. An affirmative answer can be supported by arguments which, though far from conclusive, deserve consideration.

One of the best known among the modern counting-out rhymes is the following: —

"Eena meena mona my,  
Barcelona bona stry;  
Hara wara, frumma frack,  
Hallico ballico,  
Wee, wo, wy, wack."

Compare this with jingle charm A 6: —

"Luben luben niga  
Efið efið niga  
Fel ceid fel,  
Delf cumer fel  
Orcgaei ceufor dard,  
Giug farig fidig  
Delou delupih."

We can observe the following resemblances between the two pieces: (1) similar rhythm; (2) frequent alliteration; (3) occasional rhyme; (4) repetition of syllables with slight vowel or consonant changes; (5) preponderance of polysyllabic words (mainly dissyllabic); (6) the collocation of meaningless words.

Now, the researches of Tylor, Bolton, Newell, and Simrock have established that the *Eena meena mo* doggerel, and others like it, have long existed, with variations, in many Germanic countries.<sup>2</sup> This fact points to the possibility of a common Germanic origin for the rhymes, — an origin which must be set at a remote pre-Christian period. It may be supposed that when the Church first made its influence felt, the old incantations, deprived of their sacred character, may have been more freely bandied about than hitherto. The mystifying phrases of the formulas, the uncouth names of foreign deities, the odd-sounding Greek and Latin jargon,<sup>3</sup> might easily appeal to the verbal memories of children, and thus the jingles would gain currency in games. In the oral transmission from one generation of boys and girls to another, names and sentences would be considerably distorted, so that what may once

<sup>1</sup> See Bolton, 47; also *Games and Songs*, 194 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *P. C.* i, 67 ff., 78 ff.; *Games and Songs*, 195; Bolton, 45 ff; K. J. Simrock, *Das deutsche Kinderbuch alterthümlicher Reime, Lieder . . . und Scherze für Kinder* (Frankfurt a. M., 1857).

<sup>3</sup> On mysterious words and phrases in spells, see pp. 114 ff.

have been at least partially intelligible would become entirely obscure. This gradual obscuration may be observed in the counting-out doggerel,<sup>1</sup> —

“One-erzoll, two-erzoll, zickersoll, zan,” etc.,

which is most likely a corruption one or two stages removed from the original, —

“One is all, two is all, six is all, seven.”

When the doggerel has undergone half a dozen further changes, its loss of identity with the primal form will be complete. The same process, then, which brought about the change just described, which led an inn bearing the legend “God encompasseth us”<sup>2</sup> to become known as the “Goat and Compasses,” and which caused the British sailor on the “Bellerophon” to rechristen his vessel the “Billy Ruffian,” might have helped to transmogrify Heathen spells into modern counting-out rhymes.<sup>3</sup> The permitted survival both of the jingle spells and of the children’s rhymes is explicable enough: for whether the original theurgic phraseology was replaced by outright gibberish, as in the spells, or by harmless lingo, as in the rhymes, the obtrusive Heathenism of the Anglo-Saxon compositions would alike have disappeared, so that the Church could afford to wink at the persisting forms.<sup>4</sup>

A spirited, narrative introduction, it will be remembered, is a characteristic of many of the Anglo-Saxon charms.<sup>5</sup> Just such a beginning marks a Bulgarian counting-out rhyme still used in Sophia, and not yet grown completely unintelligible. Bolton gives the jingle as follows: <sup>6</sup> —

“Skatchesa, zhà bà,  
Ot plet, do plet,  
Ta ví ka, ta klí ka,  
Zbí raite syà, voiní tze”<sup>7</sup> . . .

Many English and German children’s rhymes present this same pseudo-epic feature. Numerous examples may be gleaned by the reader

<sup>1</sup> Even in the hands of the leech-sorcerers, the jingles suffered corruption in transmission. See, for example, notes to B 6.

<sup>2</sup> A. Trollope, *Framley Parsonage*, 67.

<sup>3</sup> See Charles G. Leland’s interesting account tracing the rhyme, “One-ery, two-ery, ick-ery Ann,” etc., to an old gypsy magic spell; also cf. J. B. Ker, *Essay on the Archaeology of our Popular Phrases and Nursery Rhymes* (2 vols., Andover, 1840), i, 308.

<sup>4</sup> A parallel to the process by which the ancient incantations became jingles for casting lots, and then counting-out rhymes, is found in the series of changes by which the old Pagan sacrifices were first transformed to folk-festivals which were, in turn, preserved in children’s games (see Newell’s Introduction to *Games and Songs*).

<sup>5</sup> See p. 110.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 65.

<sup>7</sup> The translation shows the spirited nature of the first four lines: —

“A frog is jumping  
From fence to fence,  
It is calling, — it is screaming:  
Muste yourselves, soldiers!”

from the large collection of rhymes appended to Bolton's volume.<sup>1</sup> One quotation here will suffice:—

“Hinty minty cuty corn,  
Apple seed and apple thorn.  
Wire, brier, limber lock,  
Three geese in a flock.  
One flew east and one flew west,  
One flew over the cuckoo's nest.”<sup>2</sup> . . .

The analogies to which attention has been called are by no means regarded as establishing a relationship between jingle charms and counting-out rhymes; they are regarded simply as presumptive evidence of such relationship. Assuming the connection between the two forms to exist, and bearing in mind the main purpose of the counting-out rhymes, it seems plausible to infer that those spells in particular which magicians employed when casting lots, have survived in modern doggerels. Such a spell, charm A 9 may well have been, since, with its numerical formula,—

“Nine were Notthe's sisters,  
And the nine became eight,  
And the eight seven,  
And the seven six,”—

down to zero,—it was singularly appropriate to the ceremony of casting lots; and it will readily be admitted, that, without a single change, this Anglo-Saxon charm could be used by modern English children for counting out.

(b) Charms A 10–12.—These differ from the jingle charms in rhythm and in verbal content. The rhythm is either missing or much less obvious; and the formula consists, not of meaningless words strung together, but of unintelligible collocations of liturgical Latin, with words of foreign origin mixed with native words. As a rule, the ceremonies prescribed are of Heathen ancestry, while the formulas show church influence.

III. Charms A 13–20 (Charms showing marked Christian Influence).—In these spells, Heathen beliefs and practices are manifested under a thin veneer of Christian phrasing. Charms A 13–16 have poetic formulas which possess the four features that distinguish charms A 1–4. They are not classed with the latter, however, because, unlike them, they have been Christianized in ways to be described.<sup>3</sup> For the same reason, charm A 17, which is really a jingle charm, and charms A 18–20, which are essentially gibberish charms, are not grouped with charms A 5–12.

IV. Charms A 21–24 (Christian Exorcisms).—Evidences of Heathen-

<sup>1</sup> Pages 63–121.

<sup>2</sup> It will be noted that there is an inversion of the usual order, the gibberish in this case preceding the narrative portion.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 147 ff.

ism are either absent from these spells or are completely obscured by Christian phraseology and religious ceremonial prescription. A 24 is an excellent specimen of the completely religious character acquired by the ancient Heathen conjurations in the hands of exorcists appointed by the Church.

B. *Herbal Charms*. — In many cases the formula was not applied to the disease, or the spirit which caused the disease, but to the herbs with which the patient was treated. The charms in the B division contain incantations chanted over herbs and other materials employed as medicines or amulets.

B 1, B 2, and B 3 contain formulas and prescribe ceremonies to be used while culling talismanic or medicinal herbs. The formulas in B 4 and B 5 are intended for recital over herbs already gathered, just before working them into healing salves. These two formulas are poetic Heathen incantations with all the features that mark charms A 1-4. B 6 is a jingle charm the singing of which over a barley loaf is to endow the loaf with healing virtues. The instructions in B 7 direct the recital of a gibberish formula, a paternoster, and a litany, over butter before eating.

All the B charms, with the exception of B 3, contain features which link them closely to Heathendom. B 3, like A 24, illustrates the Christian ritualistic character which the charms assumed in the hands of ecclesiastics. The charm is for elf-disease, and the directions are very elaborate. The exorcist must begin his work on a Thursday evening at sunset. He must find the herb helenium, sing the Benedicite, Paternoster, and Litany over it, then stick his knife into the root. Next evening he must go to church and cross himself prior to returning, in perfect silence, to the marked herb. Then, while chanting another Benedicite, Paternoster, and Litany, he must delve up the herb, carry it as quickly as possible to the church, and lay it under the altar. Next morning it must be made into a drink spiced with lichen from a crucifix; and after boiling the mixture in milk and pouring holy water upon it, the Paternoster, Credo, and "Gloria in excelsis Deo,"<sup>1</sup> must be sung over it. The ritual is completed by making three crosses on different sides of the concoction, which the sufferer may then, at length, imbibe.

The herbal charms are arranged on the following plan: —

1. Directions for gathering the herb. Enumeration and description of objects to be employed as medicaments.
2. The actual formula.
  - Heathen and vernacular: B 1, B 2, B 4, B 5.
  - Christian liturgical: B 3, B 7.
  - Gibberish: B 6, B 7.
3. Additional directions for the use of herbal brews and other concoctions after the recital of the formula.

<sup>1</sup> Luke ii, 14.

C. *Transfereñtial Charms*. — Charms for transferring disease include those ceremonies and formulas employed in an attempt to transfer disease from a patient to some other living creature or to an inanimate object. Captive birds, brought into immediate contact with a sufferer, were released to carry the disease back into the desert, which was regarded as a permanent haunt of sprites and hobgoblins.<sup>1</sup> This practice was well established in biblical times,<sup>2</sup> and seems to have arisen from the notion that evil spirits could be bribed with sacrifices to return to their native abiding-places.<sup>3</sup> The essential trait of this procedure is the bringing of the creature or object to be infected into immediate contact with the sufferer.<sup>4</sup> At the expiration of a certain time, the thing which had received the disease was removed and variously disposed of.

Diseases were most frequently transferred to animals and trees, less often to lifeless objects.<sup>5</sup> In the case of transference to animals, perhaps the simplest procedure is that mentioned by Pettigrew: the patient is to sit on an ass, with his face to the tail; the pain will then be transmitted to the ass.<sup>6</sup> According to the same author, ague is cured in some rural Irish districts by giving a dog a cake made of barley-meal and the sufferer's urine. In a case cited, the dog had a shaking-fit, and the patient was cured.<sup>7</sup> It is interesting to note that Grimm believed the names "hen's eye," "magpie's eye," and "crow's eye," which Germans give to a corn,<sup>8</sup> to imply a belief in the possibility of transmitting such excrescences to the creatures named;<sup>9</sup> but the appearance of corns may more plausibly be supposed to have given rise to the metaphoric names.

In the Anglo-Saxon charms for transferring disease, C 2 provides for the transfer of abdominal pains to a beetle. The prescribed ritual of catching a beetle, waving it vigorously, and hurling it away while speaking talismanic words, must be performed, not by the patient, but by the exorcist, who, curiously enough, for twelve months thereafter has power to transfer the same illness from man to beetle by merely grasping the seat of the pain.

Charming diseases into trees was an ancient Heathen practice which has lingered until modern times. The common procedure in this mode of transfer was to make children walk or creep through a gap in a tree.

<sup>1</sup> See Grimm, ii, 873 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. xiv, 7, 42.

<sup>3</sup> See Sayce, *Zeitschrift f. Assyriologie*, 1902, p. 149; and cf. Grendel's refusal to be bribed (*Beowulf*, lines 175 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> Marcellus distinguished between six kinds of transference which he elaborately named (a) inseminatione, (b) implantatione, (c) impositione, (d) irritatione, (e) inescatione, (f) adproximatione. In practice, there was no essential difference between the six methods.

<sup>5</sup> See law against transferring disease, in note to law No. 4, p. 140.

<sup>6</sup> Pettigrew, 78.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 77; Pliny (xxx, 7) speaks entertainingly of transference to animals.

<sup>8</sup> German *Hühnerauge*, *Elsterauge*, *Krähenaue*.

<sup>9</sup> See Grimm, ii, 980.

This seemingly translocated the sickness to the genius of the tree.<sup>1</sup> In the "Canones Edgari," we find an Old English reference to similar practices: "Trēow-wurðunga and stān wurðunga and þone dēofles cræft, þær man þā cild þurh þā eorðan tīhð" ("tree-worshippings and stone-worshippings, and that devil's art wherein children are drawn through the earth").<sup>2</sup> The custom has survived in European countries,<sup>3</sup> and is not unknown in certain parts of the United States.<sup>4</sup> An interesting ceremony took place in the year 1709, when the plague at Conitz in Prussia was charmed into a hole of the lime-tree in a churchyard. A plug kept ready, and fitting exactly, was driven in, and the plague disappeared.<sup>5</sup>

The translocation of diseases from the sufferer to the ground, to a stone, to water, to a piece of meat, and to other inanimate objects, next deserves our attention. The Penitentials of Theodorus<sup>6</sup> and of Egbert,<sup>7</sup> like the "Canones Edgari" above mentioned, contain severe injunctions against this observance. Egbert says, "They pull their children through the earth, and thus commit themselves and their children to the Devil."<sup>8</sup> From this we may infer that children were drawn through holes in the ground very much as we have seen before that patients were made to crawl through cloven trees. The children were clearly expected to emerge recovered, and the disease was supposed to remain buried in the earth. Similarly, diseased people were passed through perforated stones. "At Minchin Hampton in Gloucestershire is an ancient stone called the 'Long Stone.' At its lower end is a perforation through which children used to be passed for the cure or prevention of measles, whooping-cough, and other ailments."<sup>9</sup> Illnesses were furthermore transferred to single objects like spoons and sticks, as well as to pieces of flesh and to a variety of other things.<sup>10</sup> Among the Anglo-Saxon charms, C 1 is a case of transference to running water. In C 3 an oaken brand, and in C 4 a green spoon, respectively receive the disease. In each instance the translocation is effected by bringing the receiving-object — brand, spoon, and running water — into contact with the sufferer's blood; the brand and spoon are then thrown away, while the running water conveys the disease to the ocean. In CC 2 the removal of the disease is made doubly sure by

<sup>1</sup> The Old French *Tristan*, 1321-34, tells how the dwarf Frocine confides to the blackthorn the secret that King Mark has horse's ears. He first puts his head under the hollow root, and then speaks. Thus the secret is passed on to the thorn.

<sup>2</sup> *A. L.* 396; numerous examples of drawing through trees in *F. L. S.*, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Indeed, it seems to have been indigenous to almost every country (see *P. C.* ii, 137).

<sup>4</sup> See the New England charm for an obstinate ague (*Black*, 38).

<sup>5</sup> See Tettau, 222.

<sup>6</sup> *A. L.* 292.

<sup>7</sup> See laws 10, 11, and 16, pp. 141, 142.

<sup>8</sup> See *A. L.* 293.

<sup>9</sup> See "Rude Stone Monuments of Ireland," by Col. Wood-Martin, in *Jour. of Roy. His. and Arch. Assoc. of Ireland*, 4th series, vol. viii.

<sup>10</sup> See *Black*, 34 ff.; Cockayne, i, liii ff.

selecting a receiving-object, and then hurling this object into a stream. The charm is against felons, and the directions to the conjurer read, "Take a hazel stick or spoon, write your name on it, make three incisions in [the felon], fill the name with the blood, throw it over your shoulder or between your thighs into running water and stand over the man. Strike the incisions and do all this in silence."

Death, always an enigmatical and superstitious subject among the living, played its part in the transference of disease. By touching a dead man's hand or garment, a sufferer could transfer his ailments to the corpse.<sup>1</sup> Again, diseases of survivors could be buried with their departed acquaintances; and the desired translocation might be effected by merely stepping over a dead man's grave. A charm for boils consists in poulticing the boil for three days and nights, and then placing the poultices and their cloths in the coffin of a dead man.<sup>2</sup> Black reports an amusing story of an Irishman bent almost double from rheumatism. Learning of the death of a neighbor, he crept to the "wake-house," seized the hand of the corpse, and, applying it to his arm, shoulder, and leg, said, "Tak' my pains wi' you, Thady, in the name of God!" According to the story, the invalid was thereafter able to throw away his crutches and walk as sturdily as younger and healthier men. In charm E 9 a similar transference of disease is provided for. A pregnant woman who cannot bring her child to maturity is told to step three times over the sepulchre of a dead man. Clearly, the idea is that an evil spirit is retarding gestation, and that, after the stepping-ceremony, this spirit is believed to enter the body of the dead.

The C spells may be analyzed as follows:—

1. Preliminary superstitious ritual to be performed by sorcerer or patient.
2. Description or designation of the receiving-object.
3. Ceremony of contact between receiving-object and patient.
4. Incantatory formula.<sup>3</sup>
5. Removal of receiving-object.

D. *Amulet Charms*. — The fourth group of charms includes those remedies which depend on the talismanic influence of some magical writing or of some material object carried about by the sick man. The custom of wearing amulets to prevent or to cure diseases may have had its origin in the sympathetic association of ideas. If a benevolent deity could not be prevailed upon to go in person and drive away the demons of disease, the next best thing was to secure some plant, stone, or other

<sup>1</sup> The relics of dead men, more especially of criminals and bad men generally, have always been esteemed in folk-medicine for their curative properties. Witness, at a lynching-bee, the scramble made for some part of the victim's remains.

<sup>2</sup> See *English Folk-Lore*, by T. F. Dyer, p. 171.

<sup>3</sup> There is no formula in charms C 4 and C 5.



object sacred to the god, or in some way associated with him, and to expel the intruder or ward off future attacks by wearing the object, say, around the neck. Thus, in Scandinavia, some ten little silver Thor's hammers have been found, each of which was attached to a chain serving as a neck-piece. The hammers were regarded by Norsemen as miniatures of Thor's prodigious weapon, and were believed to contain all the virtues of their prototype.<sup>1</sup> The number of things which could effectually serve as amulets was well-nigh unlimited. A small list would contain the bones, teeth, skin, and other parts of animals, parts of plants, precious and common stones.

Herbs, prescribed as amulets in eighteen of the Anglo-Saxon charms (B 1, B 2, D 1, D 3, and DD 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18), were renowned among the Teutons for their magical properties. Many wonderful stories are told of them in the Anglo-Saxon "Herbarium." An herb named Asterion<sup>2</sup> is said to "shine at night as a star in heaven, and he who sees it supposes that he has seen an apparition."<sup>3</sup> The same peculiarity is ascribed to the peony.<sup>4</sup> Dittany is a wort which roes eat when wounded with arrows. The arrows are thereupon ejected, and the wound is healed.<sup>5</sup> Those who were barked at by dogs could escape the annoying experience if they carried a piece of vervain, an herb in high repute among sorcerers.<sup>6</sup> Mullen, if the compiler of the "Herbarium" is to be credited, will safeguard the person who carries it against attack by wild animals, and will endow him with absolute fearlessness.<sup>7</sup> Another wort<sup>8</sup> is especially recommended to travellers over unfrequented regions, since it is warranted to put robbers to flight. To cure swellings and to drive away snakes, a little yarrow need merely be hung around the neck.<sup>9</sup> Yarrow was a veritable stand-by with the ancient English. It could be used to heal any wound made with iron weapons, and was prescribed in cases of toothache, urinary disarrangements, eczema, hardened veins, stomach-ache, hiccough, purulent inflammation, snake-bite, dog-bite, and internal difficulties of every description. Again, eleven or thirteen grains of coriander, knit on a linen cloth and held by a maiden on the left thigh of a confined woman, will

<sup>1</sup> See *Nord. Myth.* 550.

<sup>2</sup> Only the Greek name is found in the *Herbarium*.

<sup>3</sup> Cockayne, i, 165.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* i, 169. The same herb is used as an amulet for madness (see DD 4).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* i, 167.

<sup>6</sup> In DD 5. — In a MS. from the Royal Library at Stockholm the following verse about vervain is found: —

"If it be on hym day and nyth  
And kepe fro dedly synne aryth,  
Ye devil of helle schal hawe no myth."

See Holt. 315.

<sup>7</sup> In DD 6; mullen is also the amulet in charm D 3.

<sup>8</sup> ἡραχλεῖα; see DD 16.

<sup>9</sup> In DD 17.

induce speedy parturition.<sup>1</sup> Nocturnal visitors, most horrifying of nightmares to primitive man, might be withheld by keeping on hand a piece of wood-thistle or of betony.<sup>2</sup>

Some curious superstitions were connected with the mandrake, which was liberally employed in Saxon leechdom and sorcery. The fresh root of this plant has a powerful narcotic odor, which sometimes strongly affects the senses. The fable consequently arose that it was fatal to dig up the root; so an animal, usually a dog, was selected as the victim. The Saxon "Herbarium" describes in detail the ceremony of delving for the magic plant.<sup>3</sup> The most important part of the proceeding was to tie one end of a cord to the root, while the other end was fastened to a dog's neck. A piece of meat was then thrown near the dog, but beyond his reach, so that he would jerk up the plant in his endeavor to obtain the bait. It was also believed that some specimens of mandrake which resemble a man or a woman,<sup>4</sup> when torn up, uttered a shriek which it was death to hear.<sup>5</sup>

Among other herbs valued by the Old English leech-sorcerers were the castor-oil plant, the periwinkle, the sea-holly, lupine, garlic, madder, buttercup, clover, dock, pennyroyal, and sorrel.<sup>6</sup> The first named was favored by mariners, since, if hung on shipboard, it soothed the tempest, averted the hailstorm, and warded off the lightning and the thunderbolt.<sup>7</sup> Of the sea-holly, the "Herbarium" reports that it has a head like a gorgon's, while its twigs have eyes and nose.<sup>8</sup> Finally, in B 1 the periwinkle is extolled as a talisman against snakes, wild beasts, poisons, and demoniacal possessions. Better still, it can be used as a sort of perpetual wishbone; since, for the mere asking, its fortunate possessor can obtain a variety of wishes, secure grace to himself, and inspire envy and terror in the bosoms of his foes.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In DD 18. For a similar purpose, DD 9 prescribes twelve grains of coriander-seed, and naïvely promises that the performance will give "a boy or a maiden."

<sup>2</sup> DD 15. The Stockholm MS. has this verse about betony:—

"Who so betonye on hym bere  
Fro wykked sperytis it wyll hym were."

See Holt. 308.

Betony is also used in charm D 1 for nightmare.

<sup>3</sup> Cockayne, i, 245

<sup>4</sup> There are, in fact, two species. A similar fable is reported of southernwood (see Cockayne, i, 253).

<sup>5</sup> *Eng. Med.* 75; and Cockayne, i, 247. Mandrake stories were exceedingly common in the middle ages, and were frequently cited and referred to by Elizabethan writers.

<sup>6</sup> These plants are all recommended as amulets: lupine and garlic in D 1, lupine also in DD 2 for indigestion; madder in DD 1 for dysentery; buttercup in DD 3 against lunacy; clover, which hung around the neck, insures the wearer against dimness of eyesight (see Cockayne, i, 321); dock in DD 10 for a horse which has been shot (probably elf-shot); pennyroyal in DD 11 to cure a sudden dumbness; and sorrel in DD 12 for an elf-shot horse.

<sup>7</sup> See BB 11.

<sup>8</sup> It is a talisman against "every evil" (see Cockayne, i, 319).

<sup>9</sup> For further Old English superstitions connected with herbs and trees, see the charms

Like herbs, stones were held in great veneration by the ancient Germanic tribes, and were employed as periapts. They are so used in charms D 4, D 5, and D 11. It is difficult to say how a belief in the magical properties of stones arose. Legends narrated the transformation of giants and men into stones,<sup>1</sup> and these stones were supposed to retain a sort of subliminal consciousness of their former state.<sup>2</sup> Not unnaturally, compassion and interest in man's welfare began to be attributed to these petrified beings. Hence such expressions as "the very stones wept," "it would move a heart of stone." Connected in this way with superstitious beliefs, stones became the object of worship, and were kept in houses as horseshoes are to this day, or were carried around to ward off evil. References to stone worship are found in the Anglo-Saxon laws. Expressions such as "stānwurþunga" and "bringan tō stāne," which occur in the canons of King Cnut, in those of King Edgar, and in the Penitentials, show that the practices indicated were not infrequent.<sup>3</sup>

Certain varieties of stones were supposed to be peculiarly efficacious as amulets. Amber and jet are frequently recommended, the latter in D 5 and E 14, for instance.<sup>4</sup> Again, stones of particular colors or from specified places are preferred. Thus, a favorite talisman among mariners was a blue stone, which sailors washed when winds were unpropitious.<sup>5</sup> One of the charms recommends a white stone as a talisman against stitch, strange calamities, lightning, thunder, and delusions of every kind.<sup>6</sup> Three stones taken from the crop of a young swallow are prescribed as amulets in charm D 4. Nor was it imperative that the stones be actually carried by the person or be kept indoors. To shield a farm against evil spirits, D 11 recommends the farmer to place a meal-stone in the middle of a field. The directions further specify that a circle and certain words and numbers be inscribed on the stone.

In five of the printed D charms, the amulet consists of a writing containing mysterious words, letters, and other symbols. These more or less unintelligible writings have already been fully discussed on a preceding page.<sup>7</sup> It will be sufficient to say here that D 6 has a jingle incantation of precisely the same nature as the formulas in jingle charms A 5-9, while D 7-10 contain collocations of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew

in the text (especially B 4); also Fischer, 28 ff.; Holt. 293 ff.; Hoops, 41 ff.; and charm CC 2. In connection with herbs when carried as amulets, we twice read the curious direction that they are to be tied with a "red thread;" namely, in BB 3 and in Cockayne, ii, 307. This red thread was once, according to Grimm, a legal symbol sacred to the god of boundaries (see *RA*. 182 and 809).

<sup>1</sup> Grimm, ii, 551.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii, 645.

<sup>3</sup> See laws Nos. 5, 10, 12, 13, 15, pp. 141, 142.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. talismanic use of jet (*Beda*, chap. i, 1), of pearl (Grimm, ii, 1019), and of many other stones, in *Precious Stones in Nature, Art, and Literature*, by S. M. Burnham (Boston, 1886).

<sup>5</sup> Grimm, iii, 185.

<sup>6</sup> See DD 8.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 114.

words and letters, interspersed with numerals and with Christian ecclesiastical phraseology.

The material on which writings are to be placed is only specified in two instances, D 10 and DD 14, where parchment and wax are respectively named.<sup>1</sup>

In two spells, D 11 and D 12, geometrical figures are employed. D 11 prescribes the meal-stone talisman already cited. On this stone, two circles with unequal radii, but with a common centre, are to be inscribed. The smaller circle is divided by two diameters into four parts. In three of these parts Roman numerals are placed; the fourth part contains a few abbreviated Latin words. In D 12, a periapt against theft, the diagram presents two rectangles, one within the other, with interesting perpendiculars from the middle of the four sides of the larger rectangle, and letters in different parts of the figure.

The D charms fall naturally into two divisions. To the first division belong charms D 1-5, which prescribe material objects for amulets, and have no incantatory formula. To the second belong charms D 6-10, in which a magical writing, not a material object, serves as amulet.

An analysis of the charms in the first division reveals the following features: —

1. A description of the amulet.
2. Information regarding means and method of obtaining the amulet.
3. Statement of how and where the amulet is to be worn.
4. Enumeration of diseases which the amulet is alleged to cure.

All except the first of these features are likewise descriptive of the charms which constitute the second division. The fourth and distinctive feature of the second group is a written formula composed of gibberish in the manner of the *rigmaroles* discussed under the third of the general characteristics of charms. In these D charms the written statement itself is the amulet, and therefore does not need further description.

Two charms, D 11 and D 12, remain to be considered. They reveal more affinity with the second than with the first of the main groups, for in each there is a magical writing. This is not in verbal form, however, but is made up of figures and of separate words and numerals. D 11, however, betrays a resemblance to charms of the first group, in so far as the amulet does not consist solely of the written symbols, but of these together with the stone on which the symbols are inscribed.

Besides herbs, stones, and writings, the following articles are mentioned as amulets in the Anglo-Saxon charms: a fox's tooth wrapped in a fawn's skin, an ear of barley, the right shank of a dead black dog, a

<sup>1</sup> See reference, in *Sal. and Sat.*, lines 319 ff. and 326 ff., to magical rune writings on swords.

bunch of hair and wax.<sup>1</sup> It is curious to observe the directions for wearing or placing amulets. Most of the herbs and stones are prescribed to be carried on the person, without specifying where. But to stanch a flow of blood, barley is to be poked into the victim's ear.<sup>2</sup> For other evils, herbs are variously placed around the house, on a beehive, on a man's neck, and on a woman's left thigh.<sup>3</sup> To cure a woman who has been suddenly stricken dumb, pennyroyal wound up in wool is merely to be laid under the unfortunate.<sup>4</sup> Finally, objects are hung on the arm; and writings are placed around the neck, on the left breast, in the left shoe, under the heel, and under the right foot.<sup>5</sup>

E. *Charm Remedies*. — In the Anglo-Saxon medical books occur recipes in which superstition is either the most important or the sole element.<sup>6</sup> Fourteen of these recipes have been selected as types for publication in the text; but all will be referred to.

The primitive conception that disease is caused by evil-working demons finds concise expression in the opening words of charm EE 1: "For a fiend-sick man, when a devil possesses a man, or ravages him internally with disease."

All the charm remedies do not contain such explicit references to disease-demons. There are, indeed, numerous charms against elves, dwarfs, loathsome fiends, mighty witches, night-demons, devils, and succubæ, which are really pseudo-remedies for diseases alleged to have been caused by the creatures named. But in the majority of English spells the evil spirit is not directly referred to. Yet even in these cases it is easy to conclude, from the remedies prescribed, that malevolent, superhuman beings are regarded as the fountain-heads of all varieties of illnesses. When a recipe for extreme dyspepsia requires the victim's ears and whiskers to be severely pulled,<sup>7</sup> or dropsy is treated with a salve made from dog's vomit,<sup>8</sup> we recognize without difficulty the familiar sorcerer's device of expelling the demon by violence or by nausea. Twenty-eight of the forty-five E charms can be understood only upon the basis of some such connection between the remedy suggested and a disease-demon not actually named, but plainly inferred. In four of the remaining seventeen charms, the Devil is named as the originator of disease; four others are against elvish influence; two are directed against succubæ and incubi; two against dwarfs, and four against witchcraft.<sup>9</sup> In EE 30 and in EE 24 there appears to be no intimation of an evil

<sup>1</sup> See D 2, D 6, DD 7, DD 13, DD 14, respectively.

<sup>2</sup> D 6.

<sup>3</sup> DD 2, DD 1, DD 3, DD 9, respectively.

<sup>4</sup> DD 11.

<sup>5</sup> See DD 6, D 10, D 9, D 12, and DD 14. For further instances of AS. amulets, see Fischer, p. 22.

<sup>6</sup> *Høvamål*, 146, refers to such charm remedies.

<sup>7</sup> See EE 26.

<sup>8</sup> See EE 19.

<sup>9</sup> Charm E 14 is against elf and witchcraft too.

spirit. "If a man's head be distorted," reads the former, "lay the man with face upward; drive two stakes into the ground at the armpits, then place a plank obliquely over the feet and strike three times upon it with a sledge-hammer. His skull will soon be right." The remedy is clearly based on parallelism and association of ideas. The blows on the plank simulate the blows which, directly applied to the head, might restore it to a normal shape, but which, in the nature of the case, cannot be so applied. Charm EE 24 is likewise sufficiently curious to deserve citation: "If a man intend to fight with his enemy, let him seethe the young of shore swallows in wine; then let him eat them before the fight; or boil them in spring water."<sup>1</sup>

We can readily understand this charm if we remember the mythical character of certain animals and birds. In old Germanic lore, swallows and other birds converse on the destiny of men, and furnish them with superior knowledge.<sup>2</sup> An old Germanic legend tells of men who understand the language of birds as soon as they have eaten a white snake.<sup>3</sup> Just as in this instance extraordinary sources of information were opened up to the snake-eater, so, in EE 24, it may be that extraordinary agility, or some other quality valuable in combat, was obtained by eating the swallow.

Four charms against nightmare caused by elves are B 3, BB 3, BB 14, and D 8. Other diseases were later ascribed to elfin malice; and charms A 24, B 5, DD 12, E 2, E 8, E 14, and EE 9 are remedies for such misfortunes.

Convulsions of an epileptic nature were ascribed to dwarfs; and four charms (A 2, E 6, E 11, and AA 16) are formulas for expelling these fiends.

One consequence of Christianity was that the blame for sicknesses was foisted on the Devil, rather than on fiends indiscriminately. Thus insanity, especially in its more violent phases, came to be regularly attributed to possession by Satan. Perhaps this was because "devil-sickness," as the Saxons termed the disease, was felt to be the most abhorrent and debasing of maladies, and therefore worthy the activity of the Archfiend himself; or perhaps because madness was traditionally

<sup>1</sup> See also charm BB 13, where the right forefoot of a badger is recommended as an amulet to insure victory in combat.

<sup>2</sup> See Grimm, ii, 558 ff.; and cf. the ballads of *The Three Ravens* and *The Two Corbies*, No. 26 in F. J. Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*.

<sup>3</sup> See Grimm, ii, 560. According to an Icelandic belief, one could understand the language of birds by touching one's tongue with the heart plucked from a living raven (Gering, p. 207, No. 3); cf. Sigurd comprehending the birds after tasting the dragon's blood (*Fáfnismál*, strophe 31 ff.). For similar beliefs, see *Germ.* xi, 395. Other animals, parts of whose bodies the Anglo-Saxons considered invaluable either as imparting strength and protection, or furnishing remedies for disease, were badgers, dogs, wolves, porpoises, goats, and sheep (see *Herbarium*; Cockayne, i, 70 ff.; and Fischer, 36 ff.).

viewed as the disorder which afflicted those two from whom Christ transferred the devils to the swine.<sup>1</sup> Spells against devil-sickness, or spells which mention the Devil as the originator of disease, are Nos. A 23, B 1, D 3, EE 10, EE 11, EE 29, and EE 31.

In a few charms, not evil spirits, but the witchcraft of human sorcerers, is held accountable for the disease. Such charms are D 4, D 8, DD 6, E 10, E 12, E 14, EE 25. It must not be forgotten, however, that while in these instances the blame is laid at the door of sorcery, the actual suffering may still have been viewed as caused by demons, since every conjurer in good standing was believed to hold a brace or so of fiends in leash.

An interesting light is thrown on mediæval superstition by charms D 4 and E 10. These are remedies for knots,<sup>2</sup> imaginary bindings or checkings of muscles, which prevented men from performing the conjugal act. Knots were always the work of an enemy. At the instance of some jealous girl,<sup>3</sup> a sorcerer would mumble the necessary spell, and then assure his client that knot or ligature successfully controlled the intended victim. The effect was considered to be most speedily brought about by administering an herbal brew over which an incantation had been uttered. The incantation alone, however, was sufficient, and the marriage of the man selected for the knot was deemed a most opportune time for the bewitchment. So great was the terror which this disease inspired, that priests were cautioned not to make alterations in the wedding-rites on account of knots, lest their so doing should rivet the chains of this terror on the minds of the people.<sup>4</sup>

Analyzing the procedure in the E charms, the following are discovered to be the principal features:—

1. Instructions to exorcist or patient, or both, concerning prescribed superstitious ceremonials.
2. A spoken or a written formula.
3. A statement expressing confidence in the success of the treatment, or an enumeration of the disorders which the remedy will cure.

The three methods for effecting the expulsion of disease-demons can likewise be shown most satisfactorily in the following diagrammatic form:<sup>5</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> Matthew viii, 28.

<sup>2</sup> So called by Cockayne (i, xli).

<sup>3</sup> Read the story of a knot laid by Gunnhild upon Hrut (*Nials saga*, 12); cf. other stories in Fischer, 13, 18.

<sup>4</sup> "Ne ob timorem immodationis vel ligaminis alicuius, matrimonia solemnizent modo aliquo ab ordinario loci non approbato . . . ne ipsi, qui alios ab huiusmodi vano timore, verbo et exemplo retrahere debent, ipsis mali et damnabilis timoris exemplum præbere videantur" (in Eynatten, *Manualis Exorcismorum*, 1619, p. 220).

<sup>5</sup> With one exception, EE 19, only the printed E charms are included in this analysis.

- I. (a) Superstitious ritual and
  - (b) Spoken formula.
    - Heathen, E 1.
    - Christian, E 2.
- II. (a) Superstitious ritual.
  - (b) Physical force.
    - Blows, E 2 and E 3.
    - Fumes, E 4 and E 5.
    - Salve { loathsome, EE 19.
    - { holy, E 8.
    - Magic food { E 9, E 11.
    - { E 10, E 12.
    - Magic drink, E 13.
    - Besprinkling with holy water, E 14.
- III. (a) Superstitious ritual.
  - (b) Holy writing on some part of the body, E 6 and E 7.

The ritual forming a part of all E charms consists of one or more of those superstitious performances described under the general characteristics of charms. The incantations in E 1 are composed of Anglo-Saxon phrases more or less unintelligible. In E 2, ritual, spoken formula, and physical violence, are all employed. The formula in this case is a Benedicite, a Christian substitution for earlier idolatrous spells.

The six means of forcible expulsion found in the E remedies are all well-known black-art methods which have previously received attention. The method by blows is admirably illustrated in the elf-shot horse charm, E 2, which provides for the piercing of the animal's ear and the beating of its back. The salves are either herbal concoctions rendered holy, and therefore obnoxious to spirits, by the addition of incense and holy water, or they are loathsome mixtures with nauseating ingredients, such as hound's vomit in EE 19. Abominable foods, again, may be employed to eject the demon of disease. The prescription in E 11, for example, calls for a cake compounded of meal and the excrement of a dog: this the sufferer from "dwarf-complaint" is required to eat. Holy foods are sometimes called for;<sup>1</sup> and the magic drinks are all holy drinks, — herbal brews with drops of holy water added.<sup>2</sup> EE 1 offers an interesting variation from the other magic potions. It recommends "a drink for a fiend sick man to be drunk out of a church bell." Church bells were regarded by fiends<sup>3</sup> with peculiar aversion, since the ringing of bells called people to a worship which was hostile to the old belief in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the rind from Paradise, in E 9.

<sup>2</sup> But it is probable that in Heathen times runes and other symbols were cut into the stalks of worts used in charm remedies. The virtues of the magical signs were supposed to be communicated to the herbal brews. See *Sigrdrifumöl*, 5; and Gering, 212, note 9.

<sup>3</sup> These were, of course, largely recruited from the old Heathen divinities.



Heathen deities and nature spirits. Other drinks and foods with almost equally peculiar directions are prescribed in the several EE charms. In all these instances the object desired is the freeing of the patient from some illness, while the treatment prescribed seems obviously modified from older "methods of violence" used in expelling the various demons of disease.<sup>1</sup>

#### CHRISTIAN ELEMENTS IN THE CHARMS

The attitude assumed by mediæval Church and State towards magic in general, and charms in particular, is reflected in the laws of the Anglo-Saxon kings, in the sermons of the period, and in the penitential enactments of the Church. The following citations comprise all extant Anglo-Saxon legislation, as well as penitentials and ecclesiastical admonitions, pertaining to charms.

#### *Laws against Charm Magic*

1. And wē lǣrað þæt prēosta gehwīlc crīstendōm geornlice ārære, and ælcra hǣðendōm mid-ealle ādwæsce; and forbēode wīl-weorðunga and līc-wīglunga and hwata and galdra and man-weorðunga, and þā gemearr þe man drifð on mislicum gewīglungum and on frið-splottum and on ellenum and ēac on oðrum mislicum trēowum and on stānum and on manegum mislicum gedwimerum þe men ondrēogað fela þæs þe hī nā ne scoldon.<sup>2</sup>

2. Gif wīf drý-cræft and galdor and unlibban wyrce, fæste xii. mōnað, oððe iii. æ-fæstenu oððe xl. nihta, gewite hū mycel sēo fyren sig.<sup>3</sup>

3. Nis nā sōðlice ālyfed nānum crīstenum men þæt hē īdele hwatunga begā, swā hǣðene men dōð (þæt is, þæt hig gelýfon on sunnan and on mōnan . . . and sēcon tīda hwatunga hyra þing tō begynnanne), ne wyrta gaderunge mid nānum galdre, būtan mid Paternoster and mid Crēdan, oððe mid sumon gebede þe tō Gode belimpe.<sup>4</sup>

4. Si qua mulier divinationes vel incantationes diabolicas fecerit, l. annum pœniteat.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See charac. 4, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> *Canons enacted under King Edgar*, 16 (A. L. 396).

<sup>3</sup> *Confess. Ecg.* 29 (A. L. 355).

<sup>4</sup> *Pœn. Ecg.* ii, 23 (A. L. 371). For similar OHG. law, see Grimm, iii, 413: *Wie das nu*, etc.; against gathering herbs with charms, see also Ælfr. *Hom.* i, 476.

<sup>5</sup> *Pœn. Theo.* xxvii, 13 (A. L. 292).

Similarly hostile to the sorcerer's spells were the earliest Icelandic church ordinances. One of them ordains:—

"If any one engages in witchcraft or charm-magic, he shall lose his freedom" (*Nord. Myth.* 566).

Norwegian laws were likewise directed against charms, as the following enactments show:

"Whoever engages in charm-magic must leave the king's land."

"No one may believe in sorcerers, witchcraft, or herbs," that is, in the magical properties of herbs (see p. 132).

"Every woman who uses charm remedies and declares that she can help people, if convicted thereof, shall pay three shillings" (*Nord. Myth.* 567).

See also Ælfric's opposition to charm magic, *Hom.* i, 474. — The following decree from the collection by Burchard of Worms is likewise directed against charms: "*Perscrutandum, si aliquis subulcus vel bubulcus sive venator vel ceteri hujusmodi diabolica carmina*

Laws against Heathendom<sup>1</sup>

5. And wē forbēodað eornostlice ælcne hæðenscipe.

Hæðenscipe byð, þæt man dēofolgyld weorðige, þæt man weorðige hæðene godas and sunnan oððe mōnan, fȳr oððe flōd, wæterwyllas oððe stānas oððe æniges cynnes wudutrēowa, oððe wiccecræft lufige . . . swylcra gedwimera ænig þingc drēoge.<sup>2</sup>

6. And þæt is þonne ærest þæra biscpa frumræd, þæt wē ealle fram synnum georne gecyrran . . . and ælcne hæþendōm georne forbūgan<sup>3</sup> . . .

7. And gyf hwā Crīstendōm wyrde oððe hæþendōm weorþige . . . gylde swā wer swā wīte.<sup>4</sup>

8. Gif þonne æni man āgiten wurðe, þæt ænigne hæðenscipe heonan forð drēoge oððe on blōt oððe on firhte oððe on ænig wiccecræft lufige, oððe idola wurðinge, . . . gilde X. healfmarc.<sup>5</sup>

9. And wē lærað þæt man geswīce frēolis-dagum hæðenrā lēoða and dēofles gamena.<sup>6</sup>

10. Trēow-wurþunga and stān-wurþunga and þone dēofles cræft þær man þā cild þurh þā eorðan tihð<sup>7</sup> . . .

11. Wifman hēo þæs ylcan wyrde gif hēo tilað hire cilde mid ænigum wiccecræfte, oððe æt wega gelæton þurh þā eorðan tihð. Eala þæt ys mycel hæðenscipe.<sup>8</sup>

12. Gif hwylc man his ælmessan gehāte oððe bringe tō hwylcon wyllē oððe tō stāne oððe tō trēowe oððe tō ænigum oðrum gesceaftum būtan on Godes naman tō Godes cyrican, fæste iii. gēar.<sup>9</sup>

13. Gif friðgeard sȳ on hwæs lande ābūton stān oððe trēow oððe wille oððe swilces ænigge fleard, þonne gilde sē ðe hit worhte lahsliht.<sup>10</sup>

14. Siquis ad arbores, vel ad fontes, vel ad lapides sive ad cancellos, vel ubicunque excepto in ecclesia Dei, votum voverit aut exsolverit, iii. annos pœniteat.<sup>11</sup>

dicat super panem, aut super herbas, aut super quædam nefaria ligamenta, et hæc aut in arbore abscondat, aut in bivio aut in trivio projiciat, ut sua animalia liberet a peste et clade, et alterius perdat" (*Interrogatio*, 43).

There are numerous German ecclesiastical enactments of the same tenor. See, for example, Burchard of Worms, *Decretals*, i, 54; x, 8, 34.

<sup>1</sup> Including laws against tree, stone, earth, and water worship.

<sup>2</sup> Cnut, sec. 5 (G. A. 312).

<sup>3</sup> *Laws of King Æthelred*, vi, 1 (G. A. 246).

<sup>4</sup> *Laws of Edward and Guthrum*, 2 (G. A. 130).

<sup>5</sup> *Laws of the Northumbrian Priests*, 48, A. D. 1028-60 (G. A. 383).

<sup>6</sup> *Canons enacted under King Edgar*, 18 (A. L. 397); see above, law No. 1 (Edgar 16), also directed against heathendom.

<sup>7</sup> *Canons enacted under King Edgar*, 16 note (A. L. 396).

<sup>8</sup> *Pæn. Ecg.* iv, 20 (A. L. 380). Very similar is law No. 16, below, and the following from Burchard's decrees: "Fecisti quod quædam mulieres facere solent, illae dico quæ habent vagientes infantes, effodiunt terram et ex parte pertusant eam, et per illud foramen pertrahunt infantem et sic dicunt vagientis infantis cessare vagitum" (Burchard, No. 199).

<sup>9</sup> *Pæn. Ecg.* ii, 22 (A. L. 371); similarly, *Ibid.* iv, 19 (A. L. 380); and *Ælfr. Hom* i, 474.

<sup>10</sup> *Laws of the Northumbrian Priests*, 54 (G. A. 383).

<sup>11</sup> *Pæn. Theo.* xxvii, 18 (A. L. 293).

15. Si quis pro sanitate filioli, per foramen terræ exierit, illudque spinis post se concludit, xl. dies pœniteat.<sup>1</sup>

*Laws against Witchcraft*<sup>2</sup>

16. And wē bēodað, þæt man eard georne clānsian aginne on æghwylcan ende and manfulra dæda æghwær geswice.

And gif wiccean oððe wīgleras, morðwyrhtan oððe hōrcwenan āhwær on lande wurðan āgitene, fyse hig man georne út of þysum earde, oððe on earde forfare hig mid ealle<sup>3</sup> . . .

17. Ðā fæmnan þe gewuniað onfōn gealdorcraeftigan and scīnlācan and wiccan, ne læt þū ðā libban.<sup>4</sup>

18. Ðā ðe . . . liblāc wyrcað, bēon hī ā fram ælcum Godes dæle āwor-pene<sup>5</sup> . . .

19. And wē cwædon be þām wiccecraftum and be liblācum . . . gif mon þær ācweald wære, and hē his ætsacan ne mihte, þæt hē bēo his fēores scyldig.<sup>6</sup>

20. Swā hwylc man swā corn bærne on þære stōwe þær man dēad wære lȳfigendum mannum tō hæle, and on his hūse: fæste V. winter.<sup>7</sup>

21. Wīf gif hēo set hire dohtor ofer hūs oððe on ofen forþām ðe hēo wylle hig fēfer-ādle gehælan: fæste hēo VII. winter.<sup>8</sup>

22. Gif hwā drife stacan on ænigne man: fæste III. gēar.<sup>9</sup>

23. Gif hwā wiccige ymbe æniges mannes lufe and him on æte sylle oððe on drince oððe on æniges cynnes gealdorcraeftum, þæt hyra lufu forþon þe mære bēon scyle, gif hit lāwede man dō, fæste healf gēar.<sup>10</sup>

24. Si quis pro amore veneficus sit, et neminem perdideret, si laicus est, dimidium annum pœniteat; si clericus, I. annum; si subdiaconus, II. annos pœniteat.<sup>11</sup>

25. Non licet Christianos ecclesiam Dei derelinquere, et ire ad auguria, atque angelos nominare, et congregationes facere, quæ interdicta noscuntur.<sup>12</sup>

26. Si quis ligaturas fecerit, quod detestabile est: III. annos pœniteat.<sup>13</sup>

Full of injunctions against charm magic, amulets, herb enchantments, and other heathenisms, is a sermon by St. Eligius.<sup>14</sup> It is an ex-

<sup>1</sup> *Pæn. Theo.* xxvii, 16 (*A. L.* 293).

<sup>2</sup> As before, only those laws are quoted which relate to the present subject; for example, laws on witchcraft involving knots, and on superstitions connected with the dead.

<sup>3</sup> *Secular laws of King Cnut*, 4 (*G. A.* 310); exactly like this are *Laws of Edward an Guthrum*, ii (*G. A.* 134), and *Laws of King Æthelred*, vi, 7 (*G. A.* 248).

<sup>4</sup> *Laws of King Alfred*, 30 (*G. A.* 38).

<sup>5</sup> *Laws of King Edmund*, i, 6 (*G. A.* 186).

<sup>6</sup> *Laws of King Æthelstan*, ii, 6 (*G. A.* 152).

<sup>7</sup> *Confess. Ecg.* 32 (*A. L.* 356); similarly, *Pæn. Theo.* xxvii, 15 (*A. L.* 293).

<sup>8</sup> *Confess. Ecg.* 33; (*A. L.* 356).

<sup>9</sup> *Pæn. Ecg.* iv, 17 (*A. L.* 379); similarly, *Modus imponendi Pœnitentiam*, 38 (*A. L.* 405).

<sup>10</sup> *Pæn. Ecg.* iv, 18 (*A. L.* 379).

<sup>11</sup> *Pæn. Theo.* xxvii, 10 (*A. L.* 292).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* xxvii, 7 (*A. L.* 292).

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* xxvii, 22 (*A. L.* 293).

<sup>14</sup> Born 588, died 659.

cellent example of the manner in which the subject was treated by the more radical opponents of superstition:—

“Before all things I declare and testify to you that you shall observe none of the impious customs of the pagans, neither sorcerers, nor diviners, nor soothsayers, nor enchanters, nor must you presume for any cause, or for any sickness, to consult or inquire of them; for he who commits this sin loses unavoidably the grace of baptism. In like manner pay no attention to auguries and sneezings; and when you are on a journey pay no attention to the singing of certain little birds. But whether you are setting out on a journey, or beginning any other work, cross yourself in the name of Christ, and say the Creed and the Lord’s Prayer with faith and devotion, and then the enemy can do you no harm. . . . Let no Christian place lights at the temples, or the stones, or at fountains, or at trees, . . . or at places where three ways meet, or presume to make vows. Let none presume to hang amulets on the neck of man or beast; even though they be made by the clergy, and called holy things, and contain the words of scripture; for they are fraught, not with the remedy of Christ, but with the poison of the Devil. Let no one presume to make lustrations, nor to enchant herbs, nor to make flocks pass through a hollow tree, or an aperture in the earth; for by so doing he seems to consecrate them to the Devil.

“Moreover, as often as any sickness occurs, do not seek enchanters, nor diviners, nor sorcerers, nor soothsayers, or make devilish amulets at fountains or trees, or cross-roads; but let him who is sick trust only to the mercy of God, and receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ with faith and devotion; and faithfully seek consecrated oil from the church, wherewith he may anoint his body in the name of Christ, and according to the Apostle, the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up.”<sup>1</sup>

This legislation, with its uncompromising tone towards magic arts, was the product of a period when the Church had firmly intrenched itself in the soil of Western Europe, and felt the need of exterminating Paganism, root and branch. But the early Christian fathers pursued no such intransigent policy. While they were necessarily opposed to the conspicuous forms of heathendom, their first attitude towards popular beliefs and superstitious healing was one of discreet conciliation. They assaulted beliefs, but respected customs. The gods were dethroned in favor of Jehovah, but the ancient rites were continued in the latter’s worship. This milder system of conversion was in part owing to the wisdom of Pope Gregory. In his recommendations to the English missionaries he said, among other things, “*Fana idolorum destrui . . . minime debeant; sed ipsa, quæ in eis sunt, idola destruantur; aqua benedicta fiat, in eisdem fanis aspergatur, altaria construantur, reliquiæ ponantur . . . ut dum gens ipsa eadem fana sua non videt destrui, de corde errorem deponat, et Deum verum cognoscens ac adorans ad loca, quæ consuevit, familiarius concurrat.*”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Maitland, *The Dark Ages* (London, 1841), p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> “That the temples of the idols in that nation ought not to be destroyed; but let th

What further led to the easy persistence of the old customs was the credulity of the clergy themselves. The Church might refuse to sanction incantatory practices, but it could not eradicate them while its own servants believed in fiends and evil spirits. Priests did not at all question the existence of the heathen gods: they merely denied their divinity, and ranked them as demons.<sup>1</sup> Nor were there many to dispute the power of these demons or the efficacy of superstitious remedies. Therefore Pagan charms had to be met by Christian charms; and wherever heathen names of deities were used, authorized canonical names had to be substituted. From this want of single-hearted aim in its war on magic usages, the Church met with but slight success; so that Christian and Pagan ceremonies came to be strangely mingled. In the letters of Boniface there is a passage which bears on the anomalous situation. The author bitterly laments the confusion of the ancient and the new rites, and declares that "foolish, reckless, or guilty priests are to blame."<sup>2</sup>

Pursuant to the policy of peaceable substitution recommended by Gregory the Great, Heathen celebrations were continued under Christian names. Thus the old Yuletide merrymaking in honor of Thor became a festival celebrating the birth of Christ, and a German feast held on the 1st of October in memory of warriors slain on the field was metamorphosed into the festival of All-Souls to commemorate the souls of departed believers.<sup>3</sup> Other Heathen customs underwent similar transformations. Water-worship and vigils at wells, when under Heathen auspices, were, as we have seen, rigorously forbidden. But when a saint replaced the elfin genius as patron of a stream or well, the interdicted practices were winked at or flatly approved by the clergy, and were thus carried on even until recent times.<sup>4</sup> Mention has already been made of the inbred Heathen faith in the virtues of running water, and of the uses to which water is put in the charms. The employment of holy water by the Church appears to be a continuation of an ancient rite, and baptismal sprinkling seems likewise to have had its origin in a primitive custom.<sup>5</sup> Among the Germanic tribes, new-born children were dipped idols that are in them be destroyed; let holy water be made and sprinkled in the said temples, let altars be erected, and relics placed . . . that the nation, seeing that their temples are not destroyed, may remove error from their hearts, and knowing and adoring the true God, may the more familiarly resort to the places to which they have been accustomed." — Bede, i, 30.

<sup>1</sup> Observe how the invocation "of demons, or of Neptune, Diana, or Minerva," is condemned in one breath by St. Eligius in the sermon quoted above.

<sup>2</sup> See Grimm, i, 75, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> W. Müller, *Geschichte u. System d. altdeutschen Religion* (Göttingen, 1844), p. 74.

<sup>4</sup> In England they still persist in places. See Hope, *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> See Gering, *Einleitung*, 8. The thirteenth spell mentioned in *Hávamál*, 157, is for recital over a child at time of naming. That children were sprinkled with water during the ceremony of naming them is further shown by *Rígsþula* 7 and 21. Bugge (371 ff.) denies the Heathen origin of baptismal sprinkling. Cf. also H. Pfannenschmid, *Germanische Erntefeste im heidnischen Kultus* (Hannover, 1868), p. 76.

in running water, and warriors were sprinkled with the magic liquid before entering battle. Odin is reported to say, "If I pour water on the young warrior, he will not fall, even in battle; he will not be slain by the sword."<sup>1</sup> This lends plausibility to the belief that sprinkling-rites antedated the Christian era, and that when, in the charms, persons or beasts are directed to be moistened with holy water, the latter replaces the running water of an earlier Heathen version. So, in the remedy for diseased sheep (EE 14), the ceremony of pouring hallowed water over the animals may well be a Christianized form of an old Teutonic custom.

Not only wells, but streams, trees, and stones — where wood and water sprites had once held sway — continued their miraculous cures under the new régime. But the picturesque elves of Heathen lore gave way to saints. Grimm mentions several instances of this substitution;<sup>2</sup> and the subject is extensively illustrated in R. C. Hope's "Holy Wells, their Legends and Traditions." The attitude of the Church is reflected in the twenty-sixth canon of St. Anselm: "Let no one attribute reverence or sanctity to a fountain, without the Bishop's authority." In other words, a well might not continue "to do business," unless under the auspices of a saint.

Nor did the medieval Church make any attempt to abolish the invocation of a superior spirit in curing diseases; only, the faithful were directed to address saints, angels, and martyrs, instead of gods, demons, and magicians. One result of this was, that in the Catholic superstition of the middle ages there grew up a regular system, in which a particular saint, male or female, was invoked for almost every pain and disease in the several limbs and organs of the body.<sup>3</sup> In like manner, demons were driven out, not by threatening them with the ire of a protecting genius or of a potent counter-demon, but by intimidating them with the power of God or of the angelic kindred.<sup>4</sup> The exorcism in charm DD 19 reads, "Fevers, depart from N., the servant of God: seven hundred fourteen thousand angels will pursue you."

A sequel to the conciliatory policy of the Church was the active participation of the clergy in the old superstitious customs. This was not as unnatural as it may seem. The very air of the time was heavy with irrational beliefs; and priests, like other people, breathed in what they were far from recognizing as Pagan superstitions. Moreover, in the early days of proselytizing, the clergy was largely recruited from the Heathen

<sup>1</sup> Gum. 393.

<sup>2</sup> Grimm, i, 488, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> For a list of such saints, see Brand, 197, and M. Höfler, *Volksmedizin und Aberglaube* (München, 1893), p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> For the part played by monks in exorcismal healing, see Ebermann, p. 135, and *ZfdA.* iv, 576 ff.

priesthood.<sup>1</sup> The Church gained doubly by such conversions. Heathen worshippers were at once impressed and conciliated; and the service of Christ acquired the men who, by intelligence, training, and influence, were best fitted to propagate the new religion. These convert priests, nevertheless, continued in sympathy with the more deeply-rooted practices of their countrymen. They realized the power and fascination which spells, for instance, exerted on the popular mind: hence they sought to reconcile charm magic with the Christian faith. Benedictions were accordingly uttered upon bride and bridegroom; upon the sick and the dead; upon bread, salt, and honey; upon women at their churching; upon house, well, cornfield, and orchard; and upon sword and standard before a combat. These blessings were all substitutions for ancient incantations. In further recognition of Heathen beliefs, the Church proceeded to appoint exorcists, officially so-called,<sup>2</sup> who ranked after the sub-deacon, and sought, with appropriate exorcisms, to expel the devils, the incubi, and the succubæ with which people believed themselves afflicted.<sup>3</sup> That charm remedies were administered by priests as a matter of course, we have the further testimony of EE 20, a charm rite for epilepsy, where the directions read, "A mass priest shall perform this leechdom, if a man has means to get one." In short, church history, and, more particularly, church legislation, show that the clergy retained many Heathen charm ceremonies. Priests even manufactured amulets, and practised tree, stone, and water charms, as we learn from the penalization of these customs by the Archbishop Theodore,<sup>4</sup> and their vigorous condemnation in the sermon of St. Eligius, quoted above.

Beda tells a curious story which throws light on the substitution of Christian for Heathen formulas. A certain soldier, captured in battle, was ordered bound; but the order could not be executed, for the shackles

<sup>1</sup> A good instance of this is found in Beda, ii, 13. King Edwin and his high priest, Coifi, have just been addressed by the missionary Paulinus. Coifi, impressed, cries out, "I have long been conscious that there was nothing in the things we worshipped. . . . For which reason, I advise, O king, that we instantly abjure and set fire to those temples and altars which we have consecrated without reaping any benefit from them." Also see Gum. p. 342.

<sup>2</sup> "Exorcista is on Englisc, sē þe mid ðæ hælsað þā āwyrgeðan gāstas, þe wyllað menn dreccan, þurh þæs Hælandes naman, þæt hȳ menn forlæton." — Ælfric's *Canones*, x.

<sup>3</sup> An interesting English charm, just such a one as a Church exorcist might have remodelled from an older Saxon incantation, appears in Chaucer's *Miller's Tale*, lines 294 ff., *The Complete Works of Chaucer* (ed. W. W. Skeat), vol. iv.

"Ther-with the night-spel seyde he anon-rightes  
On the foure halves of the hous aboute,  
And on the threshold of the dore withoute :  
'Jesu Crist, and seynt Benedight,  
Blesse this hous from every wikked wight,  
For nightes verye, the white paternoster !  
Where wentestow, seynt Petres soster ?'"

Skeat believes *verye* to be cognate with AS. *wearg* (= "accursed thing").

<sup>4</sup> See law No. 24, p. 142, and *Pæn. Theo.* xxvii, 8 (*A. L.* 292).

invariably fell off when those who bound him retired. Bond-loosing spells being of the commonest in Germanic folk-lore,<sup>1</sup> the prisoner was taxed with availing himself of one of those devices. He denied this, but said that the marvel might be owing to the masses which a brother of his, a priest, — who doubtless supposed him killed, — was probably saying for his soul. On his return to his own country, the former captive learned that “*Illis maxime temporibus sua fuisse vincula soluta, quibus pro se missarum fuerant celebrata solemnia,*” the bonds had been generally loosed at those times when mass had been celebrated for him.<sup>2</sup> A similar story in the *Kristnisaga* tells of a bishop who recited Christian spells over a stone where a “family spirit” was thought to be confined. The formulas proved efficacious, for the stone was mysteriously rent asunder.<sup>3</sup>

It must not be forgotten that the laws which condemn the participation of priests in the ceremonies of our Heathen ancestors represent the crystallized sentiment of a later period. In the early proselytizing church there was no such manifest sentiment. But from the beginning there appeared, sporadically, zealots who censured the intermixture, by priests, of Christian and infidel rites. St. Eligius was one of the first to read his brethren a lecture; the letters of Boniface present another instance. As time went on and the Church tightened its grasp on the minds of men, more and more drastic measures were taken to extrude Heathenism from Christian worship. Punishment was rigorously meted out to priests who took part in incantatory songs in connection with the dead; <sup>4</sup> and other traditional customs which the clergy had been permitted to countenance, began to be deprecated. Since time immemorial, dancing had accompanied field and harvest celebrations. In compliance with its early policy of concession, the Church had permitted this Heathen custom to become part of religious ceremonials at harvest festivals. The practice became so popular that nuns are reported as dancing in a church, and councils were constrained to severely censure the abuse.<sup>5</sup> How far the clergy mingled the old rites with the new, we can somewhat estimate when we learn that even Dunstan was accused of sorcery, and that he “loved the vain songs of ancient heathendom, the trifling legends, the funeral chants.” <sup>6</sup> The ecclesiastical authorities were finally driven to issue peremptory condemnations of clerical partiality to such evident forms of heathendom as charm songs and amulets. A penitential of the Archbishop Theodore, bearing on this subject, has already been cited.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For example, the famous Merseburg bond spell.

<sup>2</sup> Beda, iv, 20; the same story with different names is narrated in *Ælfr. Hom.* ii, 358.

<sup>3</sup> *C. P. B.* i, 416.

<sup>4</sup> J. Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* (2 vols., Göttingen, 1846), i, 326.

<sup>5</sup> Pfannenschmidt, 489 ff.; see law of AS. Church against dancing in *Pæn. Theo.*

xxxviii, 9.

<sup>6</sup> Gum. 470.

<sup>7</sup> Law No. 24, p. 142.



Another, by the same prelate, reads, "Non licet clericos vel laicos, magos aut incantatores existere, aut facere philacteria, quæ animarum suarum vincula comprobentur; eos autem qui his utuntur, ab ecclesia pelli præcipimus."<sup>1</sup>

An examination of the Christian elements in the Old English charms can now be profitably pursued. Remembering what has before been emphasized, that the rites of exorcism came to be assumed by the clerical profession, it will readily be understood how the Æsir, the Valkyries, and the semi-divine heroes of Germanic mythology were degraded to the level of evil spirits,<sup>2</sup> and invocations to them condemned as demon-worship. The divinities who, from their golden palaces across the rainbow bridge in Asgard, ruled the Teutonic imagination, must have been subjected to repeated appeals in the spells of their worshippers. Yet only six of the charms preserve such an appeal,<sup>3</sup> and in only one of these six does the name of a major deity, Woden, occur.<sup>4</sup> Plainly, the Christian exorcists must have replaced the old Heathen titles with the names we now find in the Saxon spells — names of the Godhead, or of some member of the earthly or celestial hierarchy. Instructions from the papal throne to the priesthood frequently embraced the matter of these changes. A German manuscript of the thirteenth century contains specific directions to pastors for dealing with popular charm remedies and for altering names in invocations to the autochthonic gods.<sup>5</sup>

This kind of substitution became general in Teutonic folk-lore. No longer were the wind-elves implored for succor in a storm: petitions were addressed to the saints, known in this capacity as *wazzer heilige*, that is, water-saints.<sup>6</sup> The semi-divine white women whose appearance betokened good fortune to their beholders, were, in later legends, changed to nuns.<sup>7</sup> In a Scandinavian song dating from the tenth century, Christ, like Thor of old, was acclaimed the conqueror of mountain giants, and his throne was placed at the sacred fount of the Norns.<sup>8</sup> Not the least striking of these changes was that of blessing with the sign of the cross, where the sign of the hammer had been the old German mark of consecration. The spells themselves are not lacking in evidences of these replacements. A case in point is furnished by several Christianized versions of the famous Merseburg dislocation spell.<sup>9</sup> For example: —

<sup>1</sup> *Pæn. Theo.* xxvii, 8 (*A. L.* 292).

<sup>2</sup> In charm A 1, for instance; see also Grimm, iii, 401, for coupling of demons and gods.

<sup>3</sup> A 1, A 4, A 13, A 16, B 4, B 5.

<sup>4</sup> In two other charms, A 18, A 19, non-English gods are invoked.

<sup>5</sup> See Grimm, iii, 413: "*Hier-umb ist den ze ratenne*," etc.

<sup>6</sup> Grimm, iii, 182.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* iii, viii.

<sup>8</sup> Meyer, 437.

<sup>9</sup> This spell is printed in *Denkm.* i, 16. Translated, it reads, —

"Phol and Woden rode to forest  
Where sprained was the foot of Balder's foal.

"Our Lord rade, his foal's foot slade;  
Down he lighted, his foal's foot righted.  
Bone to bone, sinew to sinew,  
Blood to blood, flesh to flesh:  
Heal in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."<sup>1</sup>

This and other Christian versions are plainly related to the Old High German charm, the principal modern changes being the invariable substitution of the words "Jesus," "Lord," or "God" for the names "Woden," "Phol," "Sindgund," "Frija," and "Volla."<sup>2</sup>

The Old English charms may now be examined for instances of the replacement of Heathen names by Christian ones. God — rarely the Almighty, once the Holy Ghost,<sup>3</sup> more frequently Christ — is most often invoked or referred to.<sup>4</sup> The four evangelists are called upon in six charms,<sup>5</sup> generally collectively; while in A 14 they are also specifically appealed to, — Matthew to be the helmet of the suppliant, Mark his breastplate, Luke his sword, and John his shield. The Heathen notion of God's kingdom as a military power can easily be recognized in these suggestive metaphors. Suppliants further invoke the Virgin Mary:<sup>6</sup> and many entreaties are variously addressed to the twelve apostles; to the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph; to David; to Eve, Hannah, Elizabeth, and Sarah; to the angelic kindred; to the host of Seraphim; to two individual but nameless angels; to the seven sleepers; and to the following saints, — Veronica, Helena, Columba, Stephen, Machutus, Vitricius, Nicasius, Patrick, and Paul.

The substitutions were by no means confined to names. Christian ritual was boldly introduced in the charms to replace Heathen rites. Making the sign of the cross naturally became a favorite observance in magical remedies. Crosses were sometimes made of wood, as in A 13, with sacred names written on each end. As the hammer had been the æsir's might against wicked dwarfs and giants, so now the cross symbolized the all-conquering power of God against devils and evil spirits.

Then Sindgund charmed it, and Sunna, her sister;  
Then Volla charmed it, and Frija, her sister;  
Then Woden charmed it, who could charm it well:  
'Leg luxation, and blood luxation, and limb luxation,  
Bone to bone, blood to blood,  
Limb to limb as they were glued together.'"

<sup>1</sup> W. Chambers, *Fireside Stories*, 129.

<sup>2</sup> In the following Swiss nursery rhyme, the three Marys are probably substitutions for the Norns or Fates: —

"Rite, rite rösli, ze Bade stot e schlössli,  
ze Bade stot e güldi hus, es lüeged *drei Marie* drus.  
die eint spinnt side, die ander schnätzelt chride,  
die drit schnit haberstrau; bhüet mer Gott mis chindli au!"

Grimm, i, 345, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> Viz., in A 14.

<sup>4</sup> Viz., in A 13, 14, 15, 16, 21, 22; B 3, 4; D 8; E 1; AA 4, 6, 8, 13; DD 19, 20; EE 1, 31.

<sup>5</sup> Viz., A 13, 14, 17, 18; C 3; and AA 13.

<sup>6</sup> Viz., A 13, 14.

Crosses were accordingly made on various parts of the body — on the forehead, the limbs, the tongue, the breast, and the arm — to drive the demons out.<sup>1</sup> To give a flavor of Christianity to the herbal hodge-podges which had long been brewed according to Heathen recipes, the exorcist added holy water or a little frankincense.<sup>2</sup> Once, in EE 20, oil hallowed for use in extreme unction is prescribed as a salve for epilepsy,<sup>3</sup> and the consecrated wine used in the communion service is deemed sufficient to hallow the herbal mixture against elf-possession in charm BB 3. The use, for medicinal purposes, of oil, wine, and water, sanctified, not by cabalistic spells, but by priestly benediction, received the encouragement of the Church, as we learn from St. Eligius. The good Bishop warns the sick man to avoid enchanter, and faithfully to “seek consecrated oil from the church . . . and the Lord shall raise him up.”<sup>4</sup>

Vernacular incantations, like Heathen rites, were summarily condemned; and, as in the case of the latter, substitutes were officially designated for the former. The twenty-third Penitential of Archbishop Egbert<sup>5</sup> expressly forbids the gathering of herbs with charms, and adds that Paternosters, Creeds, or “other holy prayers,” may be used instead. This demand was very generally complied with. Liturgical formulas of all kinds abound in the Old English spells, — prayers, songs, litanies, psalms, Paternosters, hymns, masses, and exorcismal phrases not included in these categories. Such formulas have crept into all types of charms; and while they have sometimes replaced the older incantations, the latter have occasionally been retained with the Christian pieces interpolated. An instance of this is furnished by charm A 13, where the Tensanctus, the Benedicite, and the Magnificat occur in connection with a spell of unquestionably Pagan composition. When Heathen rites were practised in charm remedies, the superstitious Christian compromised with his conscience by continuing the traditional ceremonial as in charm E 13, but substituting the Latin Creed and Paternoster for the vernacular spell. It was in the formulas recited while gathering herbs that the Old English enchanter gave freest rein to their imaginative vein and their poetic fancies. There survives, most fortunately, a long spell, B 4, from which we can get an excellent idea of the old herbal conjurations. Compare B 4 — which miraculously escaped mutilation by medieval iconoclasts — with B 3, where the Christian metamorphosis is almost complete. The artless narration, the vigorous diction, the spirited movement, have disappeared; and in their places are a tame Benedicite, two litanies, a “Gloria in excelsis Deo,” and a

See charms A 13, B 3, E 2, E 6, AA 10, BB 14, EE 5, EE 28.

<sup>2</sup> See charms B 3, DD 10, EE 10, and BB 8, BB 14.

<sup>3</sup> In A 24, oil of unction is also prescribed for smearing crosses in connection with an exorcism of elves.

<sup>4</sup> Maitland, *The Dark Ages* (London, 1841), p. 150.

<sup>5</sup> See law No. 3, p. 140.

Credo. A favorite liturgical direction for the herb-culling ceremony was the singing of masses. Three, nine, or twelve masses are generally prescribed, although four and seven masses are each called for once. Many other Christian formulas are used, both in spells over herbs and in exorcisms of disease-demons. Interchangeably occur the several litanies, the Athanasian Creed, the "Miserere mei," the "Deus in nomine tuo," the "Domine Deus, inclina domine," and "In nomine patris," the "Deus misereatur nobis." Occasionally Psalms are called for, the sixty-eighth, the ninety-first, and the one hundred and nineteenth being the favorites. None of these has any special appropriateness except the ninety-first, which, oddly enough, is a particularly good specimen of an exorcism.

Of the church prayers employed to replace Heathen spells, the majority are Paternosters,<sup>1</sup> which are prescribed for recital in about one fourth of the charms. Sometimes considerable portions of the church service were held over a sick person or animal, as in AA 7, where several prayers and a benediction, interspersed with two readings from the New Testament, are severally prescribed. Exorcismal prayers were invariably couched in ecclesiastical Latin, and were frequently of great length, like the one in BB 16, intended for an herbal rite, and the one called the "Prayer of St. John," warranted to cure snake-bites.<sup>2</sup> Special prayers were sometimes designated to replace the Old English spells. Such prayers were officially labelled "Benedictio Herbarum," "Benedictio Potus," or "Benedictio Unguentum," according to their intended use in connection with herbs, medicines, or salves. A "Benedictio Unguentum" reads, "Dominus pater omnipotens et christe iesu fili dei rogo ut mittere digneris benedictionem tuam et medicinam celestem et diuinam protectionem super hoc unguentum ut perficiat ad salutem et ad perfectionem contra omnes egritudines corporum vel omnium membrorum intus vel foris omnibus istud unguentum sumentibus. A. A." <sup>3</sup>

Though belonging to the group of Heathen jingle charms, the vernacular incantation in B 6 is strangely called a "prayer." The same name is given to the formula in AA 13, which is composed of a jumble of corrupt Greek and Hebrew, of ecclesiastical phrases, and of obscure words of uncertain origin. Sometimes the old charm rites were entirely dispensed with, and only the Latin prayer formula remained. A case in point is the blessing on the fruit of the field, entitled "þis is sēo ððer blētsung:" "Domine deus omnipotens qui fecisti cœlum et terram, tu benedicis fructum istum, in nomine, etc. Amen and Pater-noster."<sup>4</sup> This Christian benediction may be assumed to have been

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Sal. and Sat.* (Wülker's *Bibliothek*, iii, 68), where a Paternoster is cited with runic letters to be used as a charm in conflict.

<sup>2</sup> See Cockayne, ii, 113, 4.

<sup>3</sup> See examples in Cockayne, iii, 79 ff., and in the *Durham Ritual*, 115.

<sup>4</sup> Cockayne, iii, 295.

substituted for a typical Heathen field blessing like the one in charm A 13.<sup>1</sup>

Still other Christian formulas lacking a definite liturgical character were frequently put in the place of Old English incantations. In A 24 are several such formulas. One of them reads, "Scriptum est, rex regum et dominus dominantium, Byrnice,<sup>2</sup> Beronice, lurlure, aius, aius, aius, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, dominus deus Sabaoth, amen, alleluiah." A 20 has a curious Latin formula for joint pain: "Malignus obligavit; angelus curavit; dominus salvavit."<sup>3</sup> The charms for lost cattle, A 21 and A 22, instruct the exorcist to turn to the east, west, north, and south successively, and each time to say, "Crux Christi ab oriente reducat," or "ab occidente," etc., as the case may be. "Fuge diabolus, Christus te sequitur," is the Christian transformation, in A 23, of what once was plainly an old-fashioned threat spell. Other formulas are the "Crux mihi vita, et tibi mors, inimico," of the erysipelas charm, A 11; the adaptation from John i, 1, in BB 16; the "Solvi iube, Deus e catenis," of AA 9; the "Crescite et multiplicamini, et replete terram," of A 13; and the rigmarole conjuration in AA 6, "Cristus natus aauis, sanctus a cristus passus aauis, a cristus resurrexit."

Another transformation which the charms underwent in the process of Christianization was one affecting the epic passages. Stories dealing with the feats of northern deities were replaced by excerpts from the New Testament, generally relating to Christ; or by anecdotes in which the Saviour, or one of his disciples, prominently figures. The anecdote charms form a class by themselves, and will be treated in detail later. Exorcismal pieces from the New Testament are usually brief, and are always couched in Latin. In A 15, A 16, A 21, and A 22, the story of the crucifixion of Christ by the Jews forms a part of the conjuration; in DD 19 the crucifixion is again spoken of, with the blame attached to Pontius Pilate; in DD 14 condensed stories of the conception of Christ, of the conception of John the Baptist, and of the resurrection of Lazarus, form integral parts of the spell. Not a story, but a formula with an excerpt from Matthew vii, 7, modifies the distinct Heathenism of the incantation in A 17. The interpolation runs, "Querite et invenientis. Adiuro te per patrem et spiritum sanctum non amplius crescas sed arescas."

Like the exorcismal prayers, sanctification by contact was another ceremony which the Church borrowed from Pagan custom. Among the old Scandinavians, runes were cut on the hilt of a sword or on the side of a drinking-horn, and were then scraped off into ale. Through

<sup>1</sup> Another spell consisting wholly of a prayer is one against quotidian fever (Cockayne, iii, 294). Long exorcismal prayers against variola, etc., are in Cockayne, iii, 78, and in charms BB 3 and AA 11.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Veronica.

<sup>3</sup> The same formula occurs in AA 8.

their contact with sword or horn, the runes were believed to acquire magic virtues, which they transferred to the mead, and in turn to the drinker. In the *Sigrdrifumöl*, Sigrdrifa gives Sigurd mead which has thus been filled with useful charms, with potent exorcisms, and with healing runes.<sup>1</sup> The practice was doubtless common to the several Germanic tribes, but the Old English charms preserve it only in its Christian transformation. Housel-dish, church bell, and crucifix are substituted for drinking-horn and sword, and holy writings and psalms for the mystic runes. In an exorcism of fever, BB 16, the directions are to write the first two verses and a half of the first chapter of St. John on a housel-dish, the writing to be thereafter washed off into a certain drink. Similarly, BB 3 requires psalms and texts to be written on the sacramental paten, and then washed off into a bowl of water prepared for an elf-possessed patient. Again, a drink for a "fiend-sick" man is sanctified by mixing it in a church bell;<sup>2</sup> and in several charms, wholesome concoctions are strengthened by the addition of moss or lichen grown on a crucifix.<sup>3</sup>

An easy extension of the practices just described consisted in consecrating things by bringing them into direct contact with the church itself. Sods from bewitched land were laid under the altar in order that the power of God might undo the work of demons.<sup>4</sup> Very generally herbs intended for healing purposes were first taken to church, and placed for a time near or under the communion-table. The patient himself was sometimes admonished to go to church. This occurs in E 1, a charm remedy for delayed birth. The woman is ordered to present herself before the altar, there to utter certain unintelligible phrases, which, though addressed to Christ, smack strongly of Heathendom, and are probably fragments of a well-worn spell once recited to an ancient deity.

It will be seen that sanctity, like magnetic force, could be communicated to articles by contact with things which in their turn had been similarly consecrated. If this was the case, an object which had come, or was believed to have come, from some intrinsically holy place, would naturally be regarded as superlatively hallowed, and endowed with surpassing virtue for the expulsion of fiends. So a charm remedy, E 9, calls for a rind, which, it is specified, must come from Paradise. Of an incantation "against all evils," it is prefaced that "an angel brought this writing from Heaven,"<sup>5</sup> and the same is asserted of another angel in charm D 10.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Sigrdrifumöl*, 5, 20.

<sup>2</sup> Charm EE 1.

<sup>3</sup> For example, in B 3 and in BB 14.

<sup>4</sup> See A 13.

<sup>5</sup> See AA 13.

<sup>6</sup> The Jew-Christian sect of *Elkesaiten* believed in a holy book said to have fallen from heaven. For other testimony respecting belief in the protecting power of the so-called

With respect to the Christian elements which have been severally enumerated, the Anglo-Saxon charms may be grouped in three divisions, — first, those charms which are virtually Heathen, but have some trifling mark of Christianity added from qualm of conscience, or, more probably, from fear of ecclesiastical punishment; secondly, charms in which Christian and Heathen features stand in fairly equal proportions; lastly, charms which are almost completely or indeed completely Christian in tone and ceremonial. To the first group belong such charms as B 5 and E 10. Both in ceremonial and in formula B 5 is a thoroughly Heathen spell against the “water-elf disease.” The words “add holy water” are the only signs of Christian influence in the charm, and are obviously extraneous. The same is true of charm E 10.<sup>1</sup> To the rigma-role conjuration in A 10, the one word “Amen” is added, and the same word concludes a typical Pagan fiend-expulsion ceremony in E 3. The addition of frankincense in D 1, E 4, and E 14, and of holy salt in E 8, are the only Christian marks of otherwise infidel spells. Frequently a Paternoster, a text, or some Christian phrase, is interpolated. Thus, a Paternoster in A 8; nine litanies in B 7; as many benedicites in A 9; the phrase “May the Lord help thee!” in A 1; “Through the name of Almighty God,” in AA 12; “Shout, the Lord God is my shield,” “Miserere mei,” etc., in D 10; “Alleluiah!” in B 6; and a few words from Matthew in A 17, — form so many mere appendages to characteristically Pagan spells. Even the *Nine Herbs* charm, B 4, redolent as it is of old Germanic lore, is not without its Christian accessories. These are, “Herbs the Lord created, Holy in Heaven;”<sup>2</sup> and the phrase “Christ stood over venom.”<sup>3</sup> DD 8 is an amulet charm, based on many old superstitions. Notice how a Christian flavor is given to the piece by the pretence, made in the last line, that the remedy came from an influential prelate: —

*Against Stitch.* — “The white stone is powerful against stitch and against infectious illnesses. . . . You must shave it into water and drink a good quantity, and the stones are all very good to drink of against all strange, uncouth things. When fire is struck out of the stone, it is good against lightnings and against thunders and against delusions of every kind. And if a man on a journey has gone astray, let him strike with the stone a spark before himself: he will soon find the right way. All this, Dominus Helias, patriarch at Jerusalem, ordered to be said to King Alfred.”<sup>4</sup>

*Himmelsbriefe*, see Dietrich, 19–27, and Branky, 149 ff. Cf. the Talmudic belief in the book brought to Adam from Heaven.

<sup>1</sup> Also of AA 2; DD 2; EE 2, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Lines 37 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Lines 57 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Two other Pagan charms in which Church phraseology has been palpably intruded are E 1 and B 2. The former has been mentioned before. The latter is an ancient herbal spell with this inserted direction: “Sign it [i. e. the herb] with the sign of the cross.”

Charms in which Christian and Heathen elements are freely mixed form the most numerous of the three divisions. In these charms, the credulous observances and magic spells of Paganism stand obscured by apostolic formulas and dogma; and the names of Jehovah, of Christ, and of the celestial hosts, are strangely coupled with idolatrous titles. A Danish exorcism of devils reads, "A ligger mä paa mi hyver ley, saa souer a paa vor frou Frey. Herud Ragirist! herind, Mari, med Jesu Christ!"<sup>1</sup> Observe the mention, almost in a single breath, of the goddess Freya with Christ and the Virgin Mary.

An analysis of the spell for bewitched land, A 13, will show to what extent the older rites received the sanction of the early English Church, as well as how greatly the stark Paganism of those rites was modified by Christian dogma. The charm consists of seven well-defined parts. Lines 1-26, comprising the first part, explain the ceremonial to be pursued before reciting the incantatory formula. The ceremonial consists of old Heathen customs practised to insure fruitfulness during the coming year. Sods are cut from the four corners of the field; oil, honey, and yeast, milk of each sort of cattle, and twigs of every kind of soft-wood tree, and parts of all known herbs, are laid on the sods while two Christian formulas are recited and holy water is sprinkled.<sup>2</sup> This heaping of things on the turfs was an ancient rite symbolizing the desired productiveness.<sup>3</sup> The second part, lines 27-39, constitutes an alliterative appeal to God and to Earth to assist in disenchanting the land in question. Despite the frequent mention of the Lord, this piece does not belie its intrinsic Paganism. Substitute the name of Thor for that of God, and the formula becomes a typical Heathen invocation. Further procedure, similar to that in Part I, is prescribed in the third part, lines 40-51. Ancient ceremonies, such as buying seed from beggars, consecrating the plough, and turning the body in the direction of the sun's course, are interspersed with prayers to Christ and to the Virgin, and with chanting the Benedicite, the Tersanctus, and the Magnificat. Then follows the principal incantation in the charm. It extends from line 52 to line 67, and is a Pagan address to "Mother Earth," beseeching her to bless the fields with fertile soil and bountiful crops. The names of the Almighty and of his saints appear to have been inserted by a Christian hand; for they stand side by side with the gibberish formula, "Erce, erce, erce,"<sup>4</sup> with the mention of the goddess Earth (in the capacity of Ceres), and with a conspicuously Heathen formula against demons, witches, and sorcery. In lines 68-72, the first furrow is cut to the chant-

<sup>1</sup> "I lay me on my right side, so shall I sleep with Lady Freya. Get out, Ragirist! come in, Mary, with Jesus Christ!" — Grimm, iii, 506, liii.

<sup>2</sup> Holy water, according to Chantepie 128, was a church substitution for dew.

<sup>3</sup> See Mannhardt, 317, for detailed account of Heathen field ceremonial.

<sup>4</sup> On the meaning of *erce*, see notes to A 13.



ing of a song to Folde, another name for the goddess Earth. The line "Be fruitful in God's embracing arm" shows admirably the method of toning down the Paganism of the spell. Part VI, lines 73-75, describes an old sacrificial custom which was pursued by the ancient Germans at the first ploughing of their fields, and which terminated the superstitious rites on that occasion.<sup>1</sup> In the charm, the use of holy water is the one Christian addition.

It will be seen that the new religion had wrought many changes in this ancient "Æcer-bōt," as it was called. Yet the ecclesiastical censors were not content with their work. They still found many surviving elements of Heathendom, and at these they looked askance. To put the best possible face on the matter, a fourth song was added. It was in the manner and style of the three preceding invocations, but was more decidedly Christian in tone; God, not the earth or the sun, being called upon to grant fruitfulness to the fields. This song, comprising lines 76-83, forms the seventh part, and concludes with the direction, "Then say thrice, 'Crescite, in nomine patris, sitis benedicti.' Amen and Paternoster thrice."

A similar admixture of the old rites and the new is found in charms A 14-23, B 3, B 7, C 2, C 3, D 6-11, E 2, 4, 6-9, 13, and in an overwhelming majority of the charms not included in the text. For the most part, the ceremonies prescribed are of superstitious, Pagan nature, while the actual conjurations are Christian. Frequently, portions of church ritual, and, more rarely, fragments of the older incantations, are mingled with the Heathen rites and Catholic liturgy.

In the third class, the ultimate transmogrification of the old spells can best be understood by inspecting the two charms A 24 and B 3.<sup>2</sup> These are filled with ceremonial directions either perfectly free from the taint of the proscribed beliefs, or so faintly reminiscent of them as not to offend the orthodoxy of the most austere church exorcist. The formulas, which are of course phrased in Latin, are likewise devoid of reproach.

Charm A 24 is an exorcism of elf-hiccough; that is, hiccough caused by elf-possession. The introductory ritual comprises such harmless instructions to the exorcist as noting "whether the eyes are yellow when they should be red," observing the sex of the patient and marking whether the face be a dark yellow or a livid red. In the preparation of an herbal drink which is next prescribed, there is a relic of the older rites in the direction, "Write a cross three times with the oil of unction and say 'Pax Tibi.'" The crosses are first smeared on the stems of the three herbs, just as runes were formerly cut into the stalk; then, as in olden times, stems and markings are worked into the drink. The oil of unction

<sup>1</sup> Mannhardt, 158.

<sup>2</sup> B 3 is discussed on p. 128 and in the Notes referring to that charm.

is used, so that no doubt of the sanctity of the process may be entertained; but the origin of the observance can be detected, for all that. Four Latin exorcismal prayers are next introduced: they are first to be written down; then two are to be recited over the drink, and two over the patient. The principal spell implores the Almighty to severally and comprehensively eject the mischievous dune-elves from the patient's "head, tongue, palate, throat, jaws, teeth, eyes, nose, ears, hands, neck, arms, heart, soul, knees, hip-bones, feet, and from the whole bodily structure within and without." This chanted, one of the writings which calls for the expulsion of the Devil (and is duly signed with the sign of the cross) is immersed in the herbal drink and soon after taken out, so that with it the sign of the cross may be made on every limb of the patient's body. If the unfortunate man still survives, a blessing — "Signum crucis," etc. — is next recited over him; he is then required frequently to cross himself, and lastly to drink the concoction so laboriously prepared. The singularly elaborate charm closes with the comforting assurance that "this craft" is a remedy for every variety of tribulation which fiends may cause.

Scattered through the manuscripts containing Old English spells are a few curious Christian exorcisms which may be called Latin narrative charms. They appear to have originated in the substitution of biblical or religious stories for the epic passages in the old Germanic incantations; only, whereas these epic narrations served, as a rule, merely to introduce the Heathen spells, the substituted Latin narratives grew more and more detailed and extended, until at length they constituted the main body of the charm, while the formula was abbreviated and reduced to a minor place.<sup>1</sup> The six Latin narrative spells are: AA 4, for tooth-ache; AA 10, for stitch; AA 11, for fever; DD 14, for child-birth; DD 19, for chills and fever; and DD 20, for pocks. They are not included in the printed collection of charms, because of their completely Christian character, and because, aside from the title in most of them and a single direction in one of them,<sup>2</sup> they are phrased entirely in medieval Latin. Some of them are, however, sufficiently noteworthy to deserve quotation here.

Although so few of the narrative charms have been discovered among Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, there is every reason to believe that the type which they represent was widespread in Germanic countries: for there are not only scores of modern English and German vernacu-

<sup>1</sup> The Latin narratives were presumably introduced by priestly transcribers. But see *Verwendung der Lateinischen Sprache* in M. Müller's *Über die Stilform der Zaubersprüche*, p. 13, where the contention is ably made that some (perhaps all) of these charms were merely Latin transcriptions of spells always recited in the vernacular.

<sup>2</sup> DD 14, last line.

lar spells containing the precise stories which these contain,<sup>1</sup> but numberless others with variations on the same themes. The toothache charm will serve as an illustration of this.

*"Contra dolorem dentium.* Christus super marmoreum sedebat; Petrus tristis ante eum stabat, manum ad maxillam tenebat; et interrogabat eum Dominus dicens, quare tristis es Petre? Respondit Petrus et dixit: 'Domine, dentes mei dolent.' Et Dominus dixit: 'Adiuvo te migranea . . . ut non possit diabolus nocere ei nec in dentes nec in aures famulo dei . . . rex pax nax in Christofilio, Amen, Paternoster.'"

There are numerous modern variants of this charm. One of them, current in Cornwall, England, as late as 1870, follows:—

*Charm for Toothache.*

"Christ passed by his brother's door,  
Saw his brother lying on the floor:  
'What aileth thee, brother?'  
'Pain in the teeth.'  
'Thy teeth shall pain thee no more,  
In the name,' " etc.<sup>2</sup>

Similitude, or parallelism between the narrative simile and the result desired,<sup>3</sup> is the basis of each of these Latin narratives and of their modern descendants. The stories related in the several languages, though differing slightly, are frequently variants of the same themes, the most important of which are the following: (1) the raising of Lazarus; (2) the Longinus story; (3) Mary's conception; (4 *a*) the meeting of Christ and his mother, (4 *b*) the meeting of Christ and some disciple or saint; (5) the legend of the seven sleepers; (6) the intercession of a saint; (7) the crucifixion of Christ; (8) the birth of Jesus and the fame of Bethlehem; (9) the loss of the cross, and its recovery by St. Helena; (10) St. Veronica and the handkerchief; (11) the baptism of the Lord in the Jordan.<sup>4</sup>

A few of these types, particularly Nos. 7, 8, 9, and 10, occur in the introductions to some of the regular Anglo-Saxon charms, and have already been referred to. The toothache spell just quoted illustrates type 4 *b*. Type 11 is very common in ME. and MHG. charms; in AS. it appears but once, in AA 18. Types 1 and 3, found separately in many

<sup>1</sup> See *F. L. S.*, *passim*; Ebermann, *passim*; Grimm, iii, 492–508; J. H. Gallée, *Segensprüche*, in *Germ.* xxxii, 452; and *Germ. passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Hunt, R., *Popular Romances of the West of England* (London, 1896), p. 414. For other variants, see Black, 77.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 119.

<sup>4</sup> Ebermann's book deals with the different types and formulas of Germanic charms. The author finds fourteen of these types; but Nos. 13 and 14 of his grouping are not specific types at all, while Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8 are really subdivisions of other types. Ebermann naturally gives only the themes which recur frequently. Many theme-parallels drawn from Bible narrative or nomenclature were used perhaps only once. Compare, for example, the *Abraham tibi* formula in A 15.

modern conjurations,<sup>1</sup> are curiously combined in DD 14. The Old English heading is, —

“*Wið wif bearn-ēacenu.*”<sup>2</sup> — ‘Maria virgo peperit Christum. Elisabet sterilis peperit Johannem Baptistam. Adiuro te infans si es masculus an femina per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum ut exeas, et non recedas; et ultra, ei non noceas neque insipientiam illi facias. Amen.

“Videns Dominus flentes sorores Lazari ad monumentum lacrimatus est coram Judeis, et clamabat: “Lazare, veni foras!” et prodiit, ligatus manibus et pedibus, qui fuerat quatruiduanus mortuus.’

“Writ þis on wexe ðe næfre ne cōm tō nānen wyrce, and bind under hire swiðran fōt.”

The Lazarus story was very popular with medieval magicians, and has been found in many variations. One of them is a conjuration for removing a bone sticking in the throat: “Look at the patient and say, ‘Come up, bone! whether bone of fruit or whatever else it is; as Jesus Christ raised Lazarus from the tomb.’”<sup>3</sup>

AA 10 illustrates the Longinus charm.

“*For a stitch.* — Write a cross of Christ, and sing thrice over the place these words and a Paternoster: ‘Longinus miles lancea ponxit dominum et restitit sanguis et recessit dolor.’”

This charm type is found in many medieval manuscripts<sup>5</sup> as well as in scores of modern variants. As a rule, however, it is used, not for a stitch, but for stanching blood.<sup>6</sup>

Type 5 is well illustrated by the fever charm AA 11. The legend of the seven sleepers of Ephesus is briefly narrated. Then the Lord is conjured to let his spirit come upon the suppliant, — as it did upon the seven sleepers, — thereby driving out the demon of disease.

In type 6 some saint, prophet, or patriarch — who is reported to have formerly contracted the illness for which a cure is desired — intercedes with the Lord for the cure of fellow-sufferers. Charm DD 20 is an example of this type.

“*For pocks.*”<sup>7</sup> — St. Nicasius had the small variola, and asked of God that whoever should carry his name written:

““Oh! St. Nicasius, bishop and martyr, pray for me, N., a sinner, and by thy intercession relieve me from this disease.””<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Grimm, iii, 492 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For pregnant women, i. e. to hasten childbirth.

<sup>3</sup> See *Eng. Med.* 132.

<sup>4</sup> Title and directions are in Anglo-Saxon.

<sup>5</sup> Also in Gilbertus Anglicus, *Compendium Medicinæ*, 44.

<sup>6</sup> See Ebermann, 42 ff.; and Grimm, iii, 501, xxxii.

<sup>7</sup> In Anglo-Saxon medicine, *pocks* is used as equivalent to *variola* (see *Eng. Med.* 130).

<sup>8</sup> All, except the title, in Latin. Old and modern versions of the other types can be found in Ebermann, 1-128; in *Denkm.* i, 15-19; *F. L. S. passim*; in Grimm, iii, 492-508; and in Heilig (*Alemannia*, xxv, 265 ff.; xxvi, 70 and 113 ff.). AMS. at Cambridge University (li, i, 10, p. 43) has a Latin ecclesiastical “spell” called *Lorica*, with an interlinear

## TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

[For greater convenience, the abbreviations are arranged in three sections: A, those for MSS. of charms in the text; B, those for editions; C, those for the general works on charm-lore and folk-lore.]

## A. MSS.

- Corpus Christi. The Corpus Christi MSS. are from Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.
- Corpus Christi 41. A MS. of the late tenth century. See Wanley, 114.
- Corpus Christi 190. A MS. of the early eleventh century.
- Corpus Christi 383. A MS. written A. D. 1125-30, described by Lieberman, i, xix.
- Cotton. The Cotton MSS. are all from the British Museum.
- Cotton Caligula A 7. A MS. of the beginning of the eleventh century.
- Cotton Caligula A 15. A MS. of the tenth century.
- Cotton Faustina A x. A MS. of the eleventh century.
- Cotton Julius C. 2. A paper MS. of transcripts. See Cockayne, iii, 286.
- Cotton Tiberius A 3. A MS. of the late eleventh century.
- Cotton Vitellius C iii. A MS. of the late eleventh century. It contains the "Herbarium."
- Cotton Vitellius E xviii. Written about A. D. 1030. See Wanley, 222.
- Harley. The Harleian MSS. are from the British Museum.
- Harley 438. An early seventeenth century transcript of Corpus Christi 190.
- Harley 585. See p. 106.
- Harley 6258 b. See p. 106.
- Hatton 76. An Oxford Bodley MS. of the late eleventh century.
- Junius 85. A one-page Oxford Bodley MS. See Wanley, 44.
- Regius 12 D xvii. See p. 106.

Royal 4 A xiv. A MS. of the eleventh century.

St. John's 17. An Oxford MS. of the eleventh century.

Textus Roffensis. A MS. in Rochester Cathedral, date A. D. 1115-24. See F. Lieberman, *Archæologia Cantiana*, Berlin, 1898.

B. EDITIONS<sup>1</sup>

- B. Bouterwek, *Cædmon*.
- Be. Berberich, *Herbarium*.
- Bi. Birch in *Transactions of Royal Soc.*, etc.
- C. Cockayne (17).<sup>2</sup>
- E. Ettmüller's *Scôpas*.
- G. Grimm (29), 2d ed.
- G<sup>4</sup>. Grimm (29), 4th ed.
- H. Hoops (38).
- K. Kemble, *The Saxons in England*.
- Kl. Klipstein, *Anglo-Saxonica*.
- L. Leonhardi, *Kleinere Ags. Denkm.*
- Le. Leo (44).
- Li. Lieberman, see G. A. (30).
- M. McBryde in *M. L. N.* xxi, 180.
- N. Nyerup in *Suhm's Symbolæ*.
- R. Rieger, *Lesebuch*.
- RT. Rask-Thorpe, *AS. Grammar*.
- S. Sweet, *AS. Reader*.
- Sch. Schlutter, in *Angl.* xxx and xxxi.
- Sd. Schmid (63).
- T. Thorpe, *Analecta*.
- T<sup>2</sup>. Thorpe, *A. L.* (2).
- W. Wülker, *Bibliothek*.
- WA. Wülker, *Kleinere Ags. Dichtungen*.
- Wan. Wanley, *Antiquæ Literaturæ*, etc.
- Wr. Wright, *Reliquiæ*.
- Z. Zupitza in *Angl.* i, 189.
- Z<sup>2</sup>. Zupitza in *ZfdA.* xxxi, 45.

version in AS. There are 89 rhymed lines imploring protection for all parts of the body, which are enumerated in detail. It begins, —

"Suffragare, trinitatis unitas,  
unitatis suffragare trinitas,  
suffragare quæso mihi posito  
maris magni velut in periculo."

For complete text, see Leonhardi, 175 ff.

<sup>1</sup> The full titles of nearly all editions are given in the general survey, pp. 106-109.

<sup>2</sup> The numbers in parentheses refer to the complete titles in Part C of the Table of Abbreviations, p. 161.

C. GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

1. Aber. Abercromby, John. *The Pre- and Proto-historic Finns*. 2 vols. London, 1898.
2. A. L. *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, ed. B. Thorpe. 2 vols. London, 1840.
3. Angl. *Anglia*.
4. Archiv. *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*.
5. AS. *Anglo-Saxon*.
6. AV. *Atharva-Veda Samhita*. Trans. by W. D. Whitney, rev. and ed. by C. R. Lanman. 2 vols. (Harvard Oriental Series, vols. 7 and 8.) Cambridge, Mass., 1905.
7. Beda, Venerabilis. *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, ed. C. Plummer. Oxford, 1896.
8. Black, W. G. *Folk Medicine*. (Folk-Lore Society Publications, vol. 12.) London, 1892.
9. Bolton, Henry C. *The Counting-out Rhymes of Children*. London, 1888.
10. Bradley, Henry. *The Song of the Nine Magic Herbs*. Archiv, cxiii, 144.
11. Brand, J. *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt. London, 1870.
12. Branky, F. *Himmelsbriefe*. (Archiv für Religionswis. v, 149.)
13. Brooke, Stopford A. *History of Early English Literature*. London, 1892.
14. B.-T. Bosworth-Toller. *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*.
15. Chantepie. *The Religion of the Teutons*, by P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye. Trans. from the Dutch by B. J. Vos. Boston, 1902.
16. Charac. *Characteristic*; i. e. one of the ten characteristics (see pp. 110 ff.).
17. Cockayne, Thomas O. *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England*. 3 vols. London, 1864-66.
18. Comparetti, Domenico. *Il Kalewala o, La Poesie Tradizionale dei Finni*. Nuova Antologia, vol. 147, 1896.
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  70. ZfdA. *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*.
  71. Zfvk. *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*.
  72. ZfvS. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*.

LIST OF CHARMS NOT IN THE TEXT<sup>1</sup>

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|--|--|
| <p>AA.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To cure cattle. Sch. (<i>Anglia</i>, xxx, 240).</li> <li>2. For lung disease in cattle. C., i, 388.</li> <li>3. Against theft of cattle. C., i, 392.</li> <li>4. Contra dolorum dentium. L., 148, c.</li> <li>5. For black ulcers (ad carbunculum).<br/>L., 138, LIII.</li> <li>6. For erysipelas. L., 139, LVII.</li> <li>7. If a horse has been [elf] shot.<br/>L., 148, xcvi.</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>8. For rheumatism. L., 148, xcix.</li> <li>9. Against barrenness. L., 148, xcvi.</li> <li>10. For a stitch. C., i, 393.</li> <li>11. Contra febres. C., iii, 294.</li> <li>12. For a fever. C., iii, 295.</li> <li>13. Against every strange evil. (Sē engel brohte . . .) C., iii, 288.</li> <li>14. For a fever. F. Holthausen in <i>Archiv</i>, xcix, 424.</li> <li>15. For a fever. A. Napier in <i>Archiv</i>, lxxxiv, 324.</li> </ol> |
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<sup>1</sup> This list includes all the AS. charms not printed in this article, but referred to in the introductory discussion. The latest text of each charm is given. For the editors, see Table of Abbreviations, B, p. 160.

16. Against a dwarf (i. e. against convulsion, see Group E, p. 137).  
Archiv, lxxxiv, 323.
17. For nose-bleed. Archiv, lxxxiv, 323.
18. Against thieves. R. Priebisch in Academy (1896) No. 1255, p. 428 (a verse formula not included in the text owing to the late stage of the language).

BB.

1. For dysentery. L., 88, lines 17-25.
2. For a carbuncle. L., 109, LXXI.
3. Against elfin influence. L., 126, XI.
4. To make a holy salve.  
L., 131-134, XXIX-XXXIII.
5. The plucking of sea-holly.  
C., i, 318, CLXXXII.
6. For the dry-disease (inflamed swelling).  
L., 35, XLVII.
7. For insanity (Wið wēdenheorte).  
L., 42, lines 14-21.
8. Against sudden sicknesses (þonne is sē æpelesta læcedōm . . .).  
L., 89, lines 23-34.
9. For insanity. L., 108, LXVIII.
10. Against a worm or hemorrhoid.  
L., 137, XLVII.
11. Against hail and rough weather.  
C., i, 308, CLXXVI.
12. For flux of blood. C., i, 330. 5.
13. For every evil (includes a remedy for knot). C., i, 326.2-330.4 inclusive.
14. For elf-disease (nightmare).  
L., 105, LXII.
15. For the "dry disease" (inflamed swelling). L., 108, LXVI.
16. For chills and fever.  
L., 41, lines 16-33.

CC.

1. For eye pain. C., i, 362. 4.
2. For a swelling. L., 32, lines 11-16.

DD.

1. Against loss of bees. C., i, 397.
2. For indigestion. L., 43, LXVII.
3. For a lunatic. C., i, 100. x. 2.
4. For insanity. C., i, 170. LXVI. 2.
5. To prevent being barked at.  
C., i, 170. LXVII. 2.
6. Against enchantment and fear.  
C., i, 174. LXXIII. 1 and 2.

7. For a fever. C., i, 362. 12.
8. Against stitch.  
L., 87, lines 34-35; and 88, lines 1-8.
9. To hasten child-birth. L., 100, XXXVII.
10. For an elf-shot horse. L., 141, LX.
11. If a woman turn dumb.  
L., 146, LXXXVIII.
12. For an elf-shot horse.  
L., 47, lines 18-21.
13. For an issue of blood in a woman.  
C., i, 322, 6 and 7.
14. To hasten childbirth. C., i, 392.
15. Against nocturnal demons. C., i, 70. 1.
16. Against robbers. C., i, 176, LXXIV.
17. Against snake-bite. C., i, 198. 14.
18. For speedy childbirth.  
C., i, 218, CIV. 2.
19. For chills and fever (*contra frigora*)  
C., iii, 294.
20. For pocks or variola. C., iii, 295.

EE.

1. For a maniac. L., 42, lines 1-14.
2. For idiocy. L., 43, LXVI.
3. For intestinal distention. L., 55, v.
4. For the half dead disease (i. e. hemiplegia, see *Eng. Med.* 43).  
L., 85, lines 29-36.
5. For sudden illness.  
L., 89, lines 16-18.
6. Against a poisonous drink.  
L., 103, XLIII.
7. For palsy. L., 103, lines 16-31.
8. Against nocturnal demons.  
L., 104, LIV.
9. Against elf-disease.  
L., 106, lines 8-19.
10. Against a devil. L., 107, LXIV.
11. For the devil-sick (i. e. the insane).  
L., 108, LXVII.
12. Against a pestilence among cattle.  
L., 144, LXXXVIII.
13. Against lung-disease among cattle.  
L., 144, LXXIX.
14. Against sudden pestilence among sheep.  
L., 145, LXXX.
15. For an adder bite and against [elf] shots.  
L., 34, lines 3-5.
16. For a snake-bite. L., 34, lines 15-36.
17. For an intestinal worm. L., 38, LIII.
18. For a headache. L., 7, lines 10-11.
19. For dropsy. C., i, 364, 18.
20. For epilepsy. L., 90, lines 3-7.
21. For ague. L., 41, lines 12-15.





CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF EDITIONS<sup>1</sup>

- |   |                        |  |
|---|------------------------|--|
| 1. Wanley, 1705.                          | 10. Ettmüller, 1850.   | 19. Wülker, A., 1882.                      |
| 2. Nyerup, 1787.                          | 11. Bouterwek, 1854.   | 20. Wülker, 1883.                          |
| 3. Thorpe, 1834.                          | 12. Schmid, 1858.      | 21. Zupitza, 1887 (abbr. Z <sup>2</sup> ). |
| 4. Thorpe, 1840. (abbr. T <sup>2</sup> ). | 13. Rieger, 1861.      | 22. Hoops, 1889.                           |
| 5. Wright, 1841.                          | 14. Cockayne, 1864.    | 23. Berberich, 1902.                       |
| 6. Leo, 1842.                             | 15. Rask-Thorpe, 1865. | 24. Leonhardi, 1905.                       |
| 7. Grimm, 1844. <sup>2</sup>              | 16. Sweet, 1876.       | 25. McBryde, 1906.                         |
| 8. Kemble, 1849.                          | 17. Zupitza, 1878.     | 26. Schlutter, 1908.                       |
| 9. Klipstein, 1849.                       | 18. Birch, 1878.       |  |

TRANSLATIONS<sup>3</sup>

A 1. FOR A SUDDEN STITCH

[Take] feverfew<sup>4</sup> and the red nettle which grows through the house, and plantain; boil in butter.

Loud were they, O loud, when o'er the hill they rode;  
 Infuriate were they when o'er the land they rode.  
 Now shield thyself, that thou this onslaught mayst survive!  
 Out, little spear, if herein thou be!  
 'Neath linden I stood, a light shield beneath,  
 Where mighty dames their potent arts prepared  
 And sent their whizzing spears.  
 Another will I send them back:  
 A flying arrow right against them.  
 Out, little spear, if herein it be!  
 Sat the smith, forged his little knife,  
 . . . with iron [blows] sore wounded.<sup>5</sup>  
 Out, little spear, if herein it be!  
 Six smiths sat, war-spears they wrought.  
 Out, spear, not in, spear!  
 If herein be aught of iron,  
 Work of witches, it shall melt!  
 Wert thou shot in skin, or wert shot in flesh,  
 Or wert shot in blood, or wert shot in bone,  
 Or wert shot in limb, may ne'er thy life be scathed!  
 If it were shot of gods, or it were shot of elves,  
 Or it were shot of hags, now thee I'll help.  
 This for relief from shot of gods, this for relief from shot of elves,

K., E. flan; B., C., S. flane. — 12. G., K., E., B. *omit* hit. Wr. *omits* her. G., E. sie. — 13. C. *ends the line after* seax. — 14. S. iserne. B. vunde. — 15. G., E., B. sie. — 16. G., E. sex. — 17. B. nes. G., E., B., S. inn. — 18. Edd. *except* K., C., S., W. isernes. — 19. C. sceall. — 22. C. *pære for* wære. B. lic *for* lið. G., E. si. — 24. Wr. hefan; E. ic pin helpan ville.

<sup>1</sup> For full titles, see Table of Abbreviations, B, p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> But A 15, A 16, A 21, and B 2 first appeared in the fourth ed., 1875.

<sup>3</sup> Words supplied, or not literally translated from the Anglo-Saxon, appear in brackets.

<sup>4</sup> Also called "wild camomile."

<sup>5</sup> That is, beaten with hammers.

ðis ðē tō bōte hægtessan gescotes: ic ðin wille helpan.  
 Flēoh þær on fyrgen, [sēo þā flāne sende]!  
 Hēafde hāl westu! Helpe ðin drihten!

Nim þonne þæt seax, ādō on wætan.

#### A 2. WIÐ DWEORH

Man sceal niman VII lýtle oflætan, swylce man mid ofrað, 167a  
 and writtan þās naman on ælcra oflætan: Maximianus, Mal-  
 chus, Johannes, Martinianus, Dionisius, Constantinus, Sera-  
 fion. Þænne eft þæt galdor þæt hēr æfter cweð, man sceal  
 5 singan, ærest on þæt wynstre ēare, þænne on þæt swiðre ēare,  
 þænne ufan þæs mannes moldan. And gā þænne ān mæden-  
 man tō, and hō hit on his swēoran and dō man swā prȳ da-  
 gas: him bið sōna sēl.

Hēr cōm in gangan, in spīder wiht,  
 10 hæfde him his haman on handa.  
 Cwæð þæt þū his hængcest wære.  
 Legeþ hē his tēage an swēoran.  
 Ongunnan him of þæm lande līpan.  
 15 Sōna swā hȳ of þæm lande cōman,  
 þā ongunnan him þā cōlian.  
 Þā cōm ingangan dēores sweostar.  
 Þā geændade hēo and āðas swōr:  
 ðæt nāfre þis ðæm ādlegan derian ne mōste,  
 ne þæm þe þis galdor begytan mihte,  
 20 oððe þe þis galdor ongalan cūþe.  
 Amen, fiat.

#### A 3. WIÐ WENNUM

Wenne, wenne, wenchichenne, 23a  
 hēr ne scealt þū timbrien, ne nenne tūn habben  
 ac þū scealt north eonene tō þan nihgan berhge  
 þēr þū hauest ermig ēnne brōþer.  
 5 Hē þē sceal legge lēaf et hēafde  
 Under fōt wolues, under ueþer earnes,  
 under earnes clēa, ā þū geweornie.  
 Clinge þū alswā col on heorþe.  
 Scringe þū alswā scearn āwāge,  
 10 and weorne alswā weter on ambre.  
 Swā lītel þū gewurþe alswā linsēcorn,  
 and miccli lēsse alswā ānes handwurmes hupebān,  
 and alswā lītel þū gewurþe þet þū nāwiht gewurþe.

A 1. — 26. E., R. ic þin helpan ville. — 27. MS., Wr. fled þf on fyrgen hæfde halwestu; G., E. Fleo þær on fyrgen, seo þone flan scat (sende)! K., C. Fled þor on fyrgen! heafde (C. hæfde) halwes tu; B. Fleo þær on fyrgen, seo þa flane sende! oð heafde hal vestu! R. Fleo þær on fyrgen . . . hæfde hāl vestu; S. Fleo on fyrgenheafde; hal wes-tu! W. Fleoh þær on fyrgen . . . hæfde hāl westu. — 29. W. *erroneously quotes*: K. wætere.

This for relief from shot of hags: thee will I help.  
Yonder to the mountain flee [hag, who sent the dart]!  
Be hale in head! Help thee the Lord!

Then take the knife, plunge it into the liquid.

A 2. AGAINST A DWARF

You must take seven little wafers, such as are used in worship, and write these names on each wafer: Maximianus, Malchus, Johannes, Martinianus, Dionisius, Constantinus, Serafion. Then again, you must sing the charm which is stated below, first into the left ear, then into the right ear, then over the man's head. And then let a virgin go to him, and hang it on his neck, and do this for three days. He will soon be well.

"Here came a spider wight a-walking in,  
He had his harness in his hand.  
Quoth that thou his blood-horse wert.  
He puts his traces on thy neck.  
They from the strand began to sail.  
As soon as from the land they came,  
They then began to cool.  
The sister of the beast then came a-walking in.  
Then she ceased and swore these oaths:  
That this should never scathe the sick,  
Nor him who might this charm acquire,  
Nor him who could this charm intone.  
Amen, *fiat*."

A 3. AGAINST WENS

Wen, wen, little wen,  
Here you shall not build, nor any dwelling have,  
But forth you must, even to the near-by hill,  
Where a poor wretch, a brother you have;  
He shall lay you a leaf at your head.  
Under the wolf's foot, under the eagle's wing,  
Under the eagle's claw — ever may you wither!  
Shrivel as the coal upon the hearth!  
Shrink as the muck in the stream,  
And dwindle even as water in a pail!  
May you become as little as a linseed grain,  
And much smaller, likewise, than a hand-worm's hip-bone!  
And even so small may you become, that you become as nought.

- A 2. — C., W. weorh. — 6. MS., W. hufan. — 12. MS., C., W. lege þe his teagean. — 15. MS. *ðah* *interlined* after him; W. þa [ðah] colian; Sch. þa ongann an him þ. haþ acolian. — 17. W. *joins* þa g. heo to line 16, and and a. swor to line 18. — 21. MS., C. fiað.  
A 3. — 3. Bi. uorth. Bi. eouene. — 6. MS., Z<sup>2</sup>. uolmes; Bi. uoluues. — 9. MS., Bi. scesne awage. — 10. Bi., Z<sup>2</sup>. anbren. — 13. Bi. wet for pet.

## A 4. WIÐ YMBE

Nim eorþan, oferweorþ mid þinre swiþran handa under 202a  
þinum swiþran fēt and cweð:

Fō ic under fōt; funde ic hit.  
Hwæt, eorðe mæg wið ealra wihta gehwilce,  
5 and wið andan and wið æminde,  
and wið þā micelan mannes tungan.

Forweorþ ofer grēot, þonne hī swirman, and cweð:

Sitte gē, sigewif, sīgað tō eorþan,  
næfre gē wilde tō wudu flēogan!  
10 Bēo gē swā gemindige mines gōdes,  
swā bið manna gehwiltc metes and ēpeles.

## A 5. WIÐ WYRME

Wið ðon þe mon oððe nȳten wrym gedrince, gyf hyt sȳ 136b  
wæpnedcynnes, sing ðis lēoð in þæt swiðre ēare þe hēr æfter  
awriten is; gif hit sȳ wifcynnes, sing in þæt wynstre ēare:

Gonomil orgomil marbumil,  
5 marbsairamum tofeð tengo,  
docuillo biran cuiðær,  
cæfmiil scuiht cuillo scuiht,  
cuiþ duill marbsairamum.

Sing nygon|sīðan in þæt ēare þis galdor, and Paternoster 137a  
10 æne. Þis ylce galdor mæg mon singan wið smēogan wryme;  
sing gelōme on þā dolh and mid ðīnan spātle smyre, and genim  
grēne curmeallan, cnuca, lege on þæt dolh and beðe mid hāttre  
cūmicgan.

## A 6. WIÐ ÞĒOFENTUM

Wið þēofentum: 178a  
Luben luben niga  
| efið efið niga 178b  
fel ceid fel,  
5 delf cumer fel  
orcgaei ceufor dard,  
giug farig fidig  
delou delupih.

A 4. — G. cvið ymbe. — 1. G. pine. — 2. G., C., Z. cwet. — 3. G. fet. — 7. MS., Edd.  
*except* S., Z. and wið on forweorþ; Z. and wiððon (wiðon) forweorþ. G. his virman. —  
9. C. næfra. G. ville. C. tu. G., K., R., C., S. wuda. K. fleogen.  
A 5. — 4. MS., C., L. *print lines 4-8 in prose form.*

A 4. AGAINST A SWARM OF BEES <sup>1</sup>

Take earth, with your right hand throw it under your right foot, and say, —

“I take under foot; I have located it.  
Lo, earth is potent against every sort of creature,  
And against hatred and against forgetfulness,  
And against the mighty spell <sup>2</sup> of man.”

Throw gravel over them when they swarm, and say, —

“Alight, victory-dames, sink to the ground!  
Never fly wild to the woodland!  
Be as mindful of my profit  
As is every man of food and home.”

A 5. FOR A WORM

In case a person or a beast drink up a worm, if it be of the male sex, sing the spell, which is hereinafter written, in the [victim's] right ear; if it be of the female sex, sing it in the left ear: —

“Gonomil orgomil marbumil,  
marbsairamum tofeð tengo,  
docuillo biran cuiðær,  
cæfmiil scuiht cuillo scuiht,  
cuib duill marbsiramum.”

Sing this charm nine times in the ear, and the Paternoster once. This same charm may be sung against an intestinal worm; sing it frequently on the wound, and smear the latter with your spittle, and take green centaury, pound it, lay it on the wound, and bathe with hot cow's urine.

A 6. AGAINST THEFTS

Against thefts: —

“Luben luben niga  
efið efið niga  
fel ceid fel,  
delf cumer fel  
orcgæi ceufor dard,  
giug farig fidig  
delou delupih.”

A 6. — 2. *Lines 2-8 are printed in prose form by C., L.* — 3. C., L. efið niga efið. — 7. MS., C. pidig; L. widig.

<sup>1</sup> That is, to stop bees from swarming.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, the tongue.

## A 7. WIÐ CORN

Þis mæg horse wið þon þe him bið corn on þā fēt: 182a

| Geneon genetron genitul 182b  
catalon care trist pābist  
etmic forrunne, naht ic forrunne  
nequis annua maris  
scāna nequetando.

5

## A 8. WIÐ ŪTSIHT

Ðis man sceal singan nigon sýþon wiþ ūtsiht on ān hrēren- 116a  
bræden æg, þrý dagas:

+ Ecce dolgola nedit dudum  
bethecunda bræthecunda  
elecunda eleuahge  
macte me erenum  
ortha fueþa  
lata uis leti unda  
noeuis terræ dulgedoþ.

5

10 Paternoster oþ ende; and cweþ symle æt þām dreore huic ðis.

## A 9. WIÐ CYRNEL

Neogone wāran Noðþæs sweoster; 182a  
þā wurdon þā nygone tō VIII  
and þā VIII tō VII  
and þā VII tō VI  
and þā VI tō V  
and þā V tō IIII  
and þā IIII tō III  
and þā III tō II  
and þā II tō I  
and þā I tō nānum.

5

10

Þis þe lib bē cyrneles and scrōfelles and weormes and æg-  
hwylces yfeles. Sing benedicite nygon sīþum.

## A 10. WIÐ TÕÐECE

Sing ðis wið tōðece, syððan sunne bēo on setle, swiðe oft: 135b  
“Caio laio quaque, uoaque ofer sæloficia sleah manna wyrm.”  
Nemne hēr þone man and his fæder, cweð þonne: “Lilumenne,  
æceð þæt ofer eall þonne ālið; cōliað, þonne hit on eorðan  
5 hātost byrneð; finit, amen.”

A 7. — 2. MS., C., L. *print lines 2-6 in prose.*

A 8. — 3. MS., C. *writes lines 3-9 in prose form.* — 6. C. *eienum.*

A 9. — 1. MS., Edd. *all print this charm in prose.* — 6. L. IV, *likewise in line 7.* —  
11. K. *libbe cyrnneles and scrofellef.* MS., C. *weormep;* C. *emends* wyrmes.

A 7. FOR CORNS

This will cure a horse if it should have corns on its feet: —

“Geneon genetron genitul  
catalon care trist pābist  
etmic forrune, naht ic forrune  
nequis annua maris  
scāna nequetando.”

A 8. FOR DIARRHŒA

For diarrhœa this is to be sung on a soft-boiled egg nine times for three days: —

“Ecce dolgola nedit dudum  
bethecunda bræthecunda  
elecunda eleuahge  
macte me erenum  
ortha fueþa  
lata uis leti unda  
noeuis terræ dulgedoþ.”

*Paternoster* to the end; and repeatedly say this three times near the blood.

A 9. FOR A KERNEL<sup>1</sup>

Nine were Noththe's sisters;  
then the nine came to be VIII  
and the VIII to VII  
and the VII to VI  
and the VI to V  
and the V to IV  
and the IV to III  
and the III to II  
and the II to I  
and the I to nothing.

This will free you from kernel and scrofula and worm and misery of every kind. Sing *Benedicite* nine times.

A 10. FOR TOOTHACHE

For toothache, sing the following very often after sunset: “Caio laio quaque, uoaque ofer sæloficia sleah manna wyrm.” Then name the man and his father, next say: “*Lilumenne*, it aches beyond telling when he lies down; it cools when on earth it burns most fiercely; *finit*, amen.”

---

A 10. — 1. C. wwiðe for swiðe. — 3. MS. fæd. — 5. MS. fintamen.

<sup>1</sup> That is, a swelling, or a scrofulous gland. See *Eng. Med.* 136.



## A 11. WIÐ HORS ÆMAN

Wið hors æman and mannes, sing þis þriwa nygan sīðan, on 186a  
 æfen and on morgen, on þæs mannes hēafod ufan and horse  
 on þæt wynstre ēare on yrnendum wætere, and wend þæt  
 hēafod ongēan strēam:

- 5 In domo mamosin inchora meoti. otimimeoti quoddealde  
 otuuotia et marethin. Crux mihi uita et tibi mors | inimico; 186b  
 alfa et o, initium et finis, dicit dominus.

## A 12. WIÐ ÆMAN

Genim āne grēne gyrde and læt sittan þone man onmiddan 186b  
 hūses flōre and bestrīc hine ymbūtan and cweð:

O pars et o rillia pars et pars iniopia est alfa et o initium.

## A 13. ÆCER-BŌT

Hēr ys sēo bōt, hū ōu meah t þīne æceras bētan, gif hī nellaþ 171a  
 wel wexan oþþe þær hwilc ungedēfe þing ungedōn bið, on drý  
 oððe on lyblāce.

- Genim þonne on niht, ær hyt dagige, fēower tyrf on fēower  
 5 healfa þæs landes and gemearca, hū hý ær stōdon. Nim þonne  
 ele and hunig and beorman and ælces fēos meolc, þe on þæm  
 lande sý, and ælces trēowcynnes dæl, þe on þæm lande sý  
 gewexen, būtan heardan bēaman, and ælcra namcūpre wyrte  
 dæl, būtan glappan ānon; and dō þonne hālig-wæter ðæron,  
 10 and drype þonne þriwa on þone staðol þāra turfa and cwepe  
 þonne ðās word: "*Crescite, waxe, et multiplicamini*, and gemæ-  
 nigfealda, *et replete*, and gefylle, *terram*, þās eorðan. *In*  
*nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti sitis bene|dicti.*" And 171b  
 Paternoster swā oft swā þæt oðer.

- 15 And bere siþþan ðā turf tō circean, and mæsseprēost āsinge  
 fēower mæssan ofer þan turf on, and wende man þæt grēne to  
 ðan wēofode, and siþþan gebringe man þā turf þær hī ær  
 wæron ær sunnan setlgange. And hæbbe him gæworht, of  
 cwicbēame, fēower Crīstes-mælo and āwīte on ælcon ende,  
 20 Mattheus and Marcus, Lucas and Johannes. Lege þæt  
 Crīstes-mæl on þone pyt neoþeweardne, cweðe ðonne: "*Crux*  
*Mattheus, crux Marcus, crux Lucas, crux sanctus Johannes.*"  
 Nim ðonne þā turf and sete ðær ufon on and cweðe ðonne  
 nigon siþon þās word: *Crescite*, and swā oft *Paternoster*, and

A 11. — 6. K. el marethin. K. e tibi. MS., K., C., L. inimici.

A 12. — 2. L. cweðo. — 3. K. rilli A. K. ē for est.

A 11. FOR ERYSIPELAS

For erysipelas on horse and man, sing the following, thrice nine times, evenings and mornings, on top of the man's head and in the horse's left ear, in running water, and turn his head against the stream:—

“In domo mamosin inchorna meoti. otimimeoti quoddealde otuuotiuu et marethin. Crux mihi uita et tibi mors inimico; alfa et o, initium et finis, dicit dominus.”

A 12. FOR ERYSIPELAS

Take a green stick and have the man sit in the middle of the floor of the house, and make a stroke around him, and say, —

“O pars et o rillia pars et pars iniopia est alfa et o initium.”

A 13. LAND-REMEDY

Here is the remedy with which you can amend your fields, if they are not sufficiently fruitful, or if, through sorcery or witchcraft, they suffer any harm.<sup>1</sup>

At night, before daybreak, take four sods from four sides of the land, and note how they previously stood. Then take oil and honey and barm, and milk of all cattle on the land, and part of every kind of tree growing on the land, except hard trees, and part of every known herb except burdock alone; and put holy water thereon, and then sprinkle [holy water] thrice on the bottom of the sods, and then say these words: “*Crescite*, grow, *et multiplicamini*, and multiply, *et replete*, and replenish, *terram*, the earth. *In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti sitis benedicti*.” And *Paternoster* as often as the other.

And then take the sods to church, and have a mass-priest sing four masses over the sods, and have the green part turned towards the altar; and thereafter, before sunset, take the sods where they were at first. And let [the land-owner] have made for him four crosses of aspen-wood, and write on each end, *Matthew* and *Mark*, *Luke* and *John*. Lay the cross on the bottom of the hole, then say: “Crux Mattheus, crux Marcus, crux Lucas, crux sanctus Johannes.” Next take the sods and put them down upon [the crosses], and then say these words nine times: “*Crescite*,”

A 13. — 2. G., E. veaxan. — 6. E. þam. — 7. E. þam. — 8. G., E. geveaxen. E. beamon. — 11. G., E. veaxe; K. waxe. Edd. *except* C., W. gemænigfealde. — 12. MS., K., C. terre. — 13. MS., K., C., RT. sit; G., E., R. *omit* sitis; W. sint (*or* sitis). — 15. G. messepreost. — 16. G. messan. G., E. þam. — 17. G., K., E. þam. — 18. G., K., E., R., RT. geworht. — 20. MS., K., W. Matheus; *the same in line 22*. — 22. G., E., R. *omit* sanctus. — 23. G., K. sette; R. sæte.

<sup>1</sup> Literally, or if any evil thing is done [to them] by sorcery or witchcraft.

25 wende þē þonne ēastweard and onlūt nigon sīðon ēadmōdlice  
and cweð ðonne þās word:

    Ēastweard ic stande, ārena ic mē bidde,  
    bidde ic ðone mæran domine, bidde ðone miclan drihten,  
    | bidde ic ðone hālgan heofonrices weard, 172a  
30 eorðan ic bidde and ūpheofon,  
    and ðā sōþan sancta Marian,  
    and heofones meaht and hēahreced  
    þæt ic mōte þis gealdor mid gife drihtnes  
    tōðum ontȳnan; þurh trumne geþanc  
35 āweccan þās wæstmas ūs tō woruldnytte,  
    gefyllan þās foldan mid fæste geleafan,  
    wlitigian þās wancgturf; swā sē witega cwæð  
    þæt sē hæfde āre on eorþrice, sē þe ælmyssan  
    dælde dōmlīce, drihtnes þances.

40 Wende þē þonne III sunganges, āstrece þē þonne on andlang  
and ārim þær lētanias; and cweð þonne: *Sanctus, sanctus,*  
*sanctus*, oþ ende. Sing þonne *Benedicite* āpenedon earmon  
and *Magnificat* and *Paternoster* III, and bebēod hit Crīste and  
sancta Marian and þære hālgan rōde tō lofe and tō weorþinga  
45 and þām tō āre þe þæt land āge, and eallon | þām þe him under- 172b  
    ðeodde synt. Ðonne þæt eall sīe gedōn, þonne nime man uncūþ  
    sæd æt ælmesmannum, and selle him twā swylc, swylce man  
    æt him nime. And gegaderie ealle his sulhgetēogo tōgædere;  
    borige þonne on þām bēame stōr and finol and gehālgode  
50 sāpan and gehālgod sealt. Nim þonne þæt sæd, sete on þæs  
    sūles bodig, cweð þonne:

    Erce, Erce, Erce, eorþan mōdor,  
    geunne þē sē alwalda, ēce drihten  
    æcera wexendra and wrīdendra,  
55 æcniendra and elniendra,  
    sceafta scīra hersewæstma,  
    and þære brādan berewæstma,  
    and þære hwītan hwætewæstma,  
    and ealra eorþan wæstma.  
60 Geunne him ēce drihten  
    and his hālige, þe on heofonum synt,  
    þæt hys yrþ sī gefriþod wið ealra fēonda gewæne,  
    and hēo sī geborgen wið ealra bealwa gehwylc,  
    þāra lyblāca geond land sāwen.

A. 13. — 25. E., R. eaðmodlice. — 28. G., E., R. dryhten *for* domine, and *ic after the second bidde*. — 32. G. heofenes. — 36. MS., K., C., RT. gefylle. — 37. G., E., R., RT. wlitigian. G., E., R. wangturf; K. wangcturf. — 38. K. eorðan. — 40. MS., C. *omits the second* þe. G., K. astrece (ðe). — 43. R. *omits* III. — 45. MS., C. *omits* tō; W. and are þam, þe. — 46. G. si. — 47. K. *omits* and selle . . . nime. — 49. R. bærne *for* borige. R. þan. — 51. G., K. sulhes. — 54. G., E. weaxendra. G., E., R., RT. vriðendra. — 56. MS., K., RT. hen se scire wæstma; G. sceaft tæce se scira wæstma; E.

and as often a *Paternoster*; and thereupon turn to the east and bow reverently nine times, and then say these words:—

“Eastward I stand, for blessings I pray,  
I pray the mighty Lord, I pray the potent Prince,  
I pray the holy Guardian of the celestial realm,  
Earth I pray, and Heaven above,  
And the just and saintly Mary,  
And Heaven’s power and Temple high,  
That I, by grace of God, this spell  
May with my teeth dissolve; with steadfast will  
[May] raise up harvests for our earthly need,  
Fill these meadows by a constant faith,  
Beautify these farm-turfs; as the prophet said  
That he on earth had favor who his alms  
Apportioned wisely, obedient to God’s will.”

Then turn thrice with the course of the sun, prostrate yourself completely, and say then the litanies; and thereafter say, “*Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus*,” to the end. With arms outstretched then sing the *Benedicite* and *Magnificat* and *Paternoster* thrice, and commend it <sup>1</sup> to the praise and glory of Christ and Saint Mary and the Holy Rood, and to the benefit of him who owns the land, and of all those who are under him. When all this is done, let unknown seed be taken from beggars, and let twice as much be given to these as was taken from them. And let [the land-owner] gather all his ploughing-implements together, then bore a hole in the beam, [and place therein] incense and fennel and hallowed soap and hallowed salt. Next take the seed, put it on the body of the plough, then say, —

“Erce, erce, erce, mother of Earth,  
May the Almighty, the eternal Lord, grant you  
Fields flourishing and bountiful,  
Fruitful and sustaining,  
Abundance of bright millet-harvests,  
And of broad barley-harvests,  
And of white wheat-harvests,  
And all the harvests of the earth!  
Grant him, O Eternal Lord,  
And his saints in Heaven that be,  
That his farm be kept from every foe,  
And guarded from each harmful thing  
Of witchcrafts sown throughout the land.

sceaf tahne se scira; R. sceafta heara scire; C. pisse for hen se; W. sceafta heries, scire. — 59. R. suggests interpolating arena after eorpan. — 60. R. supplies se alvalda after him. — 61. MS. eofonum. — 62. K. 8is yrð. — 63. R. heom. K. gehuylc. — 64. R., C. insert þe after þara. R. lyblacan.

<sup>1</sup> The prayer, “Eastward I stand,” etc.

- 65 | Nū ic bidde ðone waldend sē ðe ðās woruld gescēop, 173a  
 þæt ne sȳ nān tō þæs cwidol wif ne tō þæs cræftig man,  
 þæt āwendan ne mæge word þus gecwedene.

þonne man þā sulh forð drife and þā forman furh onscēote.  
 Cweð þonne:

- 70 Hāl wes þū, folde, fira mōdor,  
 bēo þū grōwende on godes fæþme,  
 fōdre gefylled firum tō nytte.

Nim þonne ælces cynnes melo, and ābacæ man innewerdre  
 handa brādnæ hlāf, and gecned hine mid meolce and mid  
 75 hāligwætere, and lecge under þā forman furh. Cweþe þonne:

- Ful æcer fōdres fira cinne,  
 beorht-blōwende, þū geblētsod weorþ  
 þæs hāligan noman, þe ðās heofon gescēop  
 and ðās eorþan, þe wē on lifiaþ.  
 80 Sē god, sē þās grundas geworhte, geunne ūs grōwende gife,  
 þæt ūs corna gehwylc cume tō nytte.

Cweð þonne III: *Crescite, in nomine patris, sitis benedicti.*  
*Amen and Paternoster þriwa.*

#### A 14. SĪÐGALDOR

- Ic mē on þisse gyrde belūce, and on godes helde bebēode 350  
 wið þane sāra stice, wið þane sāra slege,  
 wið ðane grymman gryre,  
 wið ðane micelan egsan, þe bið ēghwām lāð,  
 5 and wið eal þæt lāð, þe intō land fare.  
 Sygegealdor ic begale, sigegyrd ic mē wege,  
 wordsige and worcsige. Sē mē dēge:  
 ne mē merra gemyrre, ne mē maga ne geswence,  
 ne mē nāfre mīnum fēore forht ne gewurpe;  
 10 ac gehæle mē ælmihtig and sunu and frōfregāst,  
 ealles wuldres wyrdig dryhten,  
 | swā swā ic gehȳrde, heofna scyppende. 351  
 Abrame and Isace, Iacob and Iosep  
 and swilce men, Moyses and Dauit,  
 15 and Evan and Annan and Elizabet,  
 Saharie and ēc Marie, mōdur Cristes,  
 and ēac þā gebrōðru, Petrus and Paulus,

A 13. — 65. G., E., R., RT. bidde ic. RT. pæne. G. vealdend. G., K. veoruld. — 66. R. *omits* nan. — 67. MS., K. worud. — 73. Edd. *except* K., C. abace. MS., K., C. inne-  
 werdne; G., E. inneveardne. — 74. G., K., E. bradne. — 75. Edd. *except* K., C., W.  
 cweð. — 78. G. naman. — 80. E. þe pas. G. geveorhte. R. grovendre. — 82. MS., K.,  
 C., RT. sit; G., E., R. *omit* sitis; W. sint (sitis?).

A 14. — 2. C. wipp . . . sice; W. *erroneously gives* MS. wipp. MS., Wan., G., C. sice.  
 E. searostice . . . sarslece. — 3. MS., Wan., G., C. grymma; E. grimman. — 4. G., E.  
 æghwam MS., Wan., G., C. micela egsa; E. miclan. — 5. G., E. lande. — 6. G., E.

Now I pray the Prince who shaped this world,  
That no witch so artful, nor seer so cunning be  
[That e'er] may overturn the words hereto pronounced."

Then drive forth the plough and make the first furrow. Then say, —

"All hail, Earth, mother of men!  
Be fruitful in God's embracing arm,  
Filled with food for the needs of men."

Then take meal of every kind, and have a loaf baked as big as will lie in the hand, and knead it with milk and with holy water, and lay it under the first furrow. Say then, —

"Full field of food for the race of man,  
Brightly blooming, be you blessed  
In the holy name of Him who shaped  
Heaven, and earth whereon we dwell.  
May God, who made these grounds, grant growing gifts,  
That all our grain may come to use!"

Then say thrice, "*Crescite, in nomine patris, sitis benedicti. Amen,*" and *Paternoster* thrice.

#### A 14. A JOURNEY SPELL

I protect myself with this rod,<sup>1</sup> and commend myself to the grace of God,  
Against the grievous stitch, against the dire stroke of disease,  
Against the grewsome horror,  
Against the frightful terror loathsome to all men,  
Against all evil, too, that may invade this land.  
A victory-charm I chant, a victory-rod I bear:  
Word victory and work victory. May they potent be:  
That no nightmare demon vex me nor belly fiend afflict me,  
Nor ever for my life fear come upon me.  
But may the Almighty guard me, and the Son and Holy Ghost,  
The Sovereign worthy of completest splendor,  
And, as I heard, Creator of the skies.  
Abraham and Isaac, Jacob and Joseph  
And such men, Moses and David,  
And Eve and Hannah and Elizabeth,  
Sarah and Mary, Christ's mother, too,  
And the brothers, likewise, Peter and Paul,

sige-gealdor. — 7. G., E. veorsige. E. me vel dege. — 8. MS., Wan., G., C. ne me merne. — 9. Wan. forth. — 10. Wan. gehele. MS., Wan., C. ælmihtigi; E. se ælmihtiga. MS., Wan., G., E., C. *omit* and *after* sunu; E. his sunu. — 11. Wan. wuldre. E. wyrðig. — 13. MS., Edd. Abrame and isace and swilce men moyses and iacob and dauit and iosep; G., E. Abrahame; E. Moises; E., W. *make three lines out of the passage: line 1 ends Isace; line 2, Iacob; line 3, Iosep.* — 16. E. ec. — 17. C. *omits this line.* Wan., G. pæ.

<sup>1</sup> A cross?

- and ēac þūsend þira engla  
 clipige ic mē tō āre wið eallum fēondum.  
 20 Hī mē ferion and friþion and mīne fore nerion,  
 eal mē gehealdon, mē gewealdon,  
 worces stīrende; sī mē wuldres hyht,  
 hand ofer hēafod, hāligra rōf,  
 sigerōfra | scēote, sōðfæstra engla. 352  
 25 Biddu ealle blīðum mōde, þæt mē bēo Matheus helm,  
 Marcus byrne, leoht-līfes rōf,  
 Lucas mīn swurd, scearp and scīrecg,  
 scyld Iohannes, wuldre gewlitedod wega Serafhin.  
 Forð ic gefare, frīnd ic gemēte,  
 30 eall engla blāð, ēadiges lāre.  
 Bidde ic nū sīgeres god, godes miltse,  
 sīðfæt gōdne, smyltne and lihtne  
 wind weropum. Windas gefrān,  
 circinde wæter. Simble gehælede  
 35 wið eallum | fēondum. Frēond ic gemēte wið, 353  
 þæt ic on þæs ælmihtian, on his frið wunian mōte,  
 belocen wiþ þām lāþan, sē mē lȳfes ēht,  
 on engla blāð gestaþelod,  
 and innan hāltre hand heofna rīces blāð,  
 40 þa hwīle þe ic on þis life wunian mōte. Amen.

## A 15. WIÐ FĒOS LYRE

## I

- Gif feoh sȳ underfangen, gif hit hors sȳ, sing on his fetcran 103  
 oþþe on his brīdele. Gif hit sȳ oðer feoh, sing on þæt fōtspor  
 and ontend þrēo candela and dryp on þæt hofræc þæt wex  
 þriwa. Ne mæg hit þē nān mann forhelan. Gif hit sȳ innorf,  
 5 sing þonne on fēower healfe þæs hūses and æne on middan :  
 “Crux Christi reducat. Crux Christi per furtum periit, inventa  
 est. Abraham tibi semitas, vias, montes, concludat; Job et flu-  
 mina; [Jacob te] ad iudicium ligatum perducatur. Jūdēas Chrīst  
 ahēngon; þæt heom cōm tō wīte swā strangum. Gedydon heom  
 10 dæda þā wirrestan; hȳ þæt drōfe onguldon. Hælan hit heom  
 tō hearme micclum: for þām hī hit forhelan ne mihtan.”

A 14. — 18. C. ðusenð; W. *erroneously gives* MS. ðusenð. E. pyrra. MS. þiraenglaclipige.  
 — 20. E. me friðjan and ferjan. Wan., G. fere nerion; E. fere nerjan. — 21. MS., Wan.,  
 G., E. men gewealdon; C. *changes* men to meh. — 22. Wan., C. warces; C. storende;  
 E. weorces styrende; W. *erroneously has*: MS. warces storende. — 23. E. reaf? — 25.  
 MS. and Edd. *except* E. hand ofer heafod *after* beo. MS., Wan., G., E., C. bliðu; W.  
 bliðe? C. mattheus. — 27. MS. lucos; C. locos; W. Locas. MS. scer<sup>a</sup>p. — 28. G., E.  
 Serafhin. — 29. E. frynd. — 31. MS., Wan., G., C. nu sigere godes miltse god; E. nu  
 god sigores, godes miltse; W. *same as* E. *except* sigeres. — 32. MS., Wan., G., C. smylte  
 and lihte; E. smilte and lyhte; W. *erroneously has* MS. swylte. — 33. MS., Wan., G. E.,  
 C. werepum; W. wederum. — 34. W. cyrrende? MS., Wan. simbli gehalepe; G., E. sim-  
 blige hæledhe; C. simble gehalepe; W. simblege halepe. — 35. G., E., feordum. —

And also thousands of the angels  
 I invoke to succor me against all fiends.  
 May they strengthen me and cherish me and preserve me in life's course,  
 Wholly protect and control me,  
 Guiding my actions; may I have hope of glory,  
 Hand over head, [and reach the] choir of saints,  
 Realm of the triumphant, of the faithful angels.  
 Blithe of mood, I pray that Matthew be my helmet,  
 Mark be my hauberk, a bright life's covering,  
 Luke be my sword, sharp and keen-edged,  
 My shield be John, transfigured with glory, the Seraph of journeys.<sup>1</sup>  
 Forth I wander, friends I shall find,  
 All the encouragement of angels through the teaching of the blessèd.  
 Victory's God I now beseech, and the favor of the Lord  
 For a happy journey, for a mild and gentle  
 Wafting<sup>2</sup> from these shores: since the [savage] winds, I know, [beget]  
 The whirling waters. Then, ever preserved  
 Against all fiends, may I meet with friends,  
 That I may dwell in the Almighty's sheltering care,  
 Guarded from the loathsome fiend who seeks my life,  
 Established in the glory of the angels,  
 And in the bliss of the kingdom of Heaven  
 The while I am permitted upon this earth to dwell. Amen.

A 15. FOR LOSS OF CATTLE

I

If live stock be stolen: if it be a horse, sing [the charm] on his fetters or on his bridle. If it be other live stock, sing [it] on the footprints and light three candles and thrice dip the wax on the hoof-mark. No man shall be able to conceal the theft. If it be household stuff, then sing [the charm] on the four sides of the house and once in the middle:—

“Crux Christi reducat. Crux Christi per furtum periit, inventa est. Abraham tibi semitas, vias, montes, concludat; Job et flumina; [Jacob te] ad iudicium ligatum perducatur. The Jews hanged Christ; that brought upon them a punishment equally severe. They did the worst of deeds to him; they paid the penalty with their expulsion. They concealed it to their great injury: seeing that conceal it they could not.”

36. MS., Wan., G. *pis ælmihgian*; E. *pæs ælmihtigan*. G., E. *omit* on his *frið wunian*; E. are mote. — 37. Wan., G., C., W. *belocun*. MS., Wan., G., E. *pa. E. si me lifes æht*; G. *lifes*. — 38. MS., Wan., G., E. *bla blæd*. — 39. MS., Wan., G., C. *inna*. All except E., W. *hofna*. C. suggests *excision* of *blæd*. — 40. Wan., C., W. *omit pis*; E. *pys*.  
 A 15. — 1. Rof. *undernumen*. M. *gif hit sy hors*. — 2. Rof. *bridels*. — 3. M. III. *for preo*. Rof., M. *hofrec*. Rof. *omits* *pæt before wex*. — 4. Rof. *omits nan*. Rof. *manna*; M. *man*. Rof. *inorf*, and *omits þonne*. — 8. All except Rof., G. *omit Jacob te*. — 9. M. *ahengan*. Tib. *witene*. Tib. *irangan*; M. *strangan*. M. *gedydan*. Rof. *him*. — 10. Jul. *wirstan*; M. *wyrrestan*. Rof. *forguldon*. Rof., M. *hælon*. Rof. *him*; M. *omits heom*. — 11. C. *pam [pe] hi*. Jul., Rof. and *heo hit na forhelan ne mihton*.

<sup>1</sup> That is, of those who journey.

<sup>2</sup> Wind.



## II

- Hit becwæð and becwæl sē ðe hit āhte  
 mid fullan folcrichte, swā swā hit his yldran  
 mid fēo and mid fēore rihte begēaton.  
 15 And lētan and lāfdan ðām tō gewearde  
 ðe hȳ wel ūðan. And swā ic hit hæbbe  
 swā hit sē sealde ðe tō syllanne āhte  
 unbrȳde and unforboden. And ic āgnian wille  
 tō āgenre æhte ðæt ðæt ic hæbbe  
 20 and nāfre ðē myntan: ne plot ne plōh,  
 ne turf ne toft, ne furh ne fōtmæl,  
 ne land ne lāsse, ne fersc ne mersc,  
 ne rūh ne rūm, wudes ne feldes,  
 landes ne strandes, wealtes ne wāteres;  
 25 būtan ðæt lāste ðe hwīle ðe ic libbe.  
 Forðām nis æni man on life  
 ðe æfre gehyrde ðæt man cwydde oððon crafode  
 hine on hundrede, oððon āhwār on gemōte,  
 on cēapstōwe oþþe on cyricware ðā hwīle þe hē lifede.  
 30 Unsac hē wæs on life, bēo on legere, swā swā hē mōte.  
 Dō swā ic lāre: bēo ðū be ðinum,  
 and læt mē be mīnum; ne gyrne ic ðīnes,  
 ne lāðes ne landes, ne sace ne sōcne,  
 ne ðū mīnes ne ðearft, ne mynte ic ðē nān þing.

## A 16. WID FĒOS NIMUNGE

- Ne forstolen ne forholen nānuht, þæs ðe ic āge, þe mā ðe 226  
 mihte Herod ūrne drihten. Ic geþōhte sancte Eadelenan and ic  
 geþōhte Crīst on rōde āhangen; swā ic þence ðis feoh tō fin-  
 danne næs tō oþfeorrganne, and tō witanne næs tō oðwyrceanne,  
 5 and tō lufianne næs tō oðlæddanne.

- Garmund, godes ðegen,  
 find þæt feoh and fere þæt feoh,  
 and hafa þæt feoh and heald þæt feoh,  
 and fere hām þæt feoh,  
 10 þæt hē nāfre nabbe landes, þæt hē hit oðlæde,  
 ne foldan, þæt hē hit oðferie,  
 ne hūsa, þæt hē hit oðhealde.

- A 15. — 12. Edd. *except* Leo and M. *print Part II. in prose.* — 13. Jul. folcricht. —  
 14. C., M. begeatan. — 15. C., M. lētan. — 16. Rof. vpan. — 18. Rof. wylle. —  
 19. C., M. ahte. — 20. Rof., C., M. ðæt yntan *for* ðe myntan. — 22. Rof., C., M.  
 læse. — 23. Jul. wuherum. — 24. C., M. sandes *for* landes. — 25. Rof. ðæhwile; Jul.,  
 C., M. ða. — 26. B. nis æt tinan; Rof., Jul. inse tman; C., M. forðam [ðe] [n] is se  
 man. — 27. C. cwidde; M. cwiððe. — 28. B., Sd. hundræde. — 29. Jul., C., M. *omit*  
 þe. C., M. lifde; Leo, lifede. — 31. B., Rof., Leo, Sd. ðe *for* ðu. — 32. Rof. ine *forme*.  
 Leo, girne. — 34. Jul., C., M. ðærft; Sd. pearfst.

II

He bequeathed it and died who possessed [the land]  
 With full legal title,<sup>1</sup> as his forefathers  
 With money and with services lawfully acquired it,  
 And surrendered and bequeathed it to his control  
 To whom they freely gave it. And so I hold it  
 As he disposed of it — who had the right to give —  
 Unopposed and unforbidden. And I shall claim  
 As rightful property whate'er I have,  
 And never for you design: nor plot nor plow,  
 Nor sod nor homestead, nor furrow nor foot-mark,  
 Nor land nor leasow, nor fresh water nor marsh,  
 Nor uncleared nor cleared ground, of forest nor of field,  
 Of land nor of strand, of wold nor of water;  
 But this stay mine the while I live.  
 For there is no man living  
 Who ever heard that any one made claim or summoned  
 Him<sup>2</sup> before the hundred court, or anywhere to council  
 In market place or in church congregation while he lived:  
 As he, in life, was guiltless, so let him be in death, even as he should.  
 Act as I admonish: stay with yours  
 And leave me with mine; nothing of yours do I desire:  
 Neither lea nor land, nor privilege nor right;  
 Neither you need mine, nor do I design anything for you.

A 16. FOR THEFT OF CATTLE

May nothing I own be stolen or hidden any more than Herod could  
 [steal or hide] our Lord. I thought of St. Helena and I thought of Christ  
 suspended on the cross; so I hope to find my cattle, and not have them  
 borne off, and be informed [of their whereabouts], and not have them  
 injured and have kindness shown to them, and not have them led astray.

Garmund, servitor of God,  
 Find those kine, and fetch those kine,  
 And have those kine and hold those kine,  
 And bring home those kine,  
 That he never may have land to lead them to,  
 Nor fields to fetch them to,  
 Nor houses to confine them in.

A 16. — 1. Wan. ageþenape; G. ne *for* þe, *after* age. — 2. MS., C. drihen. G. Ead Elenan.  
 — 4. Wan. oþfeorr ganne; G. othfeorganne; C. oþ feorr ganne. — 6. Wan. ðegend. —  
 8. Wan. hufa. — 10. Wan., G. n'æbbe. Wan. hitað læde. — 11. MS., Wan., C. þ. hit  
 oðferie; G. *omits* he hit. — 12. MS., Wan. hit oð hit healde; G., C., W. *omit the second*  
 hit.

<sup>1</sup> Literally, full right according to common law.

<sup>2</sup> The protester.

Gyf hyt hwā gedō, ne gedige hit him næfre!  
 Binnan þrȳm nihtum cunne ic his mihta,  
 15 his mægen and his mundcræftas.  
 Eall hē weornige, swā fȳer wudu weornie,  
 swā breðel þēo, swā þystel,  
 sē ðe þis feoh oðfergean þence  
 oððe ðis orf oðēhtian ðence! Amen.

## A 17. WIÐ ÐĀ BLACAN BLĒGENE

Sing ðis gebed on ðā blacan blēgene VIII sȳþan; ærest Pater- 136a  
 noster:

Tigað tigað tigað  
 calicet aclu,  
 5 cluel sedes adcloces  
 acre earcre arnem;  
 nonabiuð ær ærnem,  
 niðren arcum cunað arcum,  
 arctua fligara uflen  
 10 binchi cutern nicuparam,  
 raf afð egal uflen  
 arta arta arta  
 trauncula trauncula.

Querite et inuenietis. Adiuro te per patrem et filium et spiri-  
 15 tum sanctum. Non amplius | crescas sed arescas super aspidem 136b  
 et basilliscum ambulabis et conculcabis leonem et draconem.  
 Crux Matheus, crux Marcus, crux Lucas, crux Johannes.

## A 18. WIÐ LENCTENĀDLE

Eft, drenc wið lenctenādle: fēferfūge, hramgealla, finul, 53a  
 wegbræde; gesinge mon fela mæssan ofer þære wyrta, ofgēot  
 mid ealað, dō hāligwæter on, wyl swīpe wel. Drince þonne,  
 swā hē hātost mæge micelne scenc fulne, ær þon sīo ādl tō  
 5 wille. Fēower godspellara naman and gealdor and gebed:

+++	Matheus	++	Marcus	++	Lucas
+++		+++		+++	
+++	Johannes	+	+		
+++		+++	+		

intercedite pro me. Tiecon, Le-  
 leloth, patron, adiuro uos.

Eft godcund gebed:  
 10 In nomine domini sit benedictum, Beronice, Beronice. Et  
 habet in uestimento et in femore suo scriptum rex regum et  
 dominus dominantium.

A. 16. — 13. G. gif hit. Wan. gedon, egedige. G. has no punctuation after næfre. —  
 15. MS., Wan., G., C., W. mægen [and his mihta] and his m. — 16. MS. syer; Wan.  
 syen wudu weorme; G. sva er vudu; C. fyer (or fyr). — 18. G. his.

Should any man so act, may he thereby never prosper!  
 Within three days his powers I'll know,  
 His skill and his protecting crafts!  
 May he be quite destroyed, as fire destroyeth wood,  
 As bramble or as thistle injures thigh,  
 He who may be planning to bear away these cattle  
 Or purposing to drive away these kine.

A 17. FOR BLACK ULCERS

Sing the following prayer nine times on black ulcers; first [saying] a Paternoster:—

“Tigað tigað tigað  
 calicet aclu,  
 cluel sedes adclocles  
 acre earcre arnem;  
 nonabiuð ær ærnem,  
 niðren arcum cunað arcum,  
 arctua fligara uflen  
 binchi cutern nicuparam,  
 raf afð egal uflen  
 arta arta arta  
 trauncula trauncula.”

“Querite et inuenietis. Adiuro te per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum. Non amplius crescas sed arescas super aspidem et basilliscum ambulabis et conculcabis leonem et draconem. Crux Matheus, crux Marcus, crux Lucas, crux Johannes.”

A 18. AGAINST AGUE

Again, a drink against ague: feverfew, ram-gall, fennel, plaintain; have many masses sung over the herbs, moisten them with ale, add holy water, boil very thoroughly. Then let [the patient] drink a great cup full, as hot as he can, before the illness come upon him. [Recite] the names of the four gospels and a charm and a prayer:—

+++	Matheus	++	Marcus	++	Lucas
+++		+++		+++	
+++	Johannes	+	+	intercedite pro me. Tiecon, Leleloth,	
+++		+++			

patron, adiuro uos.”

Then a holy prayer:—

“In nomine domini sit benedictum, Beronice, Beronice. Et habet in uestimento et in femore suo scriptum rex regum et dominus dominantium.”

A 17. — 1. L. IX. MS., L. syðan; C. siðan (or sipum). — 3. MS., C., L. *print lines 3 to 13 in prose*. — 5. L. adclocles. — 12. L. *omits the third arta*.

A 18. — 2. MS., C., L. wyrte. — 6. MS., C. L. MarcuS. MS., C. LucaS. — 10. C. Jn.

Eft godcund gebed:

In nomine domini summi sit benedictum. ✠MMRMþ.  
15 NandþTX✠ MREwNandþTX.

A 19. WIÐ HORS-WRECCUNGE

Gif hors bið gewræht, þonne scealt þū cweþan þās word: 181b  
|“Naborrede, unde uenisti,” tribus uicibus; “credidi prop- 182a  
ter,” tribus uicibus. “Alpha et o, initium et finis, crux mihi uita  
est et tibi mors inimico;” Paternoster.

A 20. WIÐ LIÐWÆRCE

Wið liðwærce, sing VIII sīpum þis gealdor þær on and þīn 116a  
spātl spīw on:  
Malignus obligauit, angelus curauit, dominus saluauit.  
Him biþ sōna sēl.

A 21. WIÐ CĒAPES þĒOFENDE

Ðis man sceal cweðan, ðonne his cēapa hwilcne man forsto- 216  
lenne. Cwyð ær þū ænyg oþer word cweðe:

Bethlem hāttæ sēo burh, ðe Crīst on geboren wes;  
sēo is gemærsod ofer ealne middangeard.  
5 Swā ðeos dæd wyrþe for mannum mære,

per crucem Christi. And gebede þē þonne þriwa ēast and cweð  
þriwa: +Christi ab oriente reducat; and III. west and cweð:  
Crux Christi ab occidente reducat; and III. sūþ and cweð  
þriwa: Crux Christi a meridie reducat; and III. norð and cweð:  
10 Crux Christi abscondita est et inuenta est. Jūdēas Crīst āhen-  
gon; gedidon him dæda þā wyrstan; hælōn, þæt hī forhelan ne  
mihton. Swā nāfre ðeos dæd forholen ne wyrþe, per crucem  
Christi.

A 22. WIÐ CĒAPES LYRE

Þonne þē mon ærest secge, þæt þīn cēap sý losod, þonne cweð 180b  
þū ærest, ær þū elles hwæt cweþe:

Bæðleem hātte sēo buruh,  
þe Crīst on ācænned wæs.  
5 Sēo is gemærsad geond ealne middangeard.  
Swā þyos dæd for monnum mære gewurþe  
þurh þā hāligan Crīstes rōde! Amen.

A 18. — 15. C. ✠MMRMþ · N7 · þTX · ✠MMRMþ · N7 · þTX.

A 19. — 4. MS., C., L. mor inimici; C. *emends* mors inimice? inimico?

A 20. — 1. L. IX.

A 21. — 1. Wan. forstelenne; G. fosrtelenne. — 2. MS., Wan., G. cyð. MS., Wan. he

Once more a holy prayer: —

"In nomine domini summi sit benedictum. ✠MMRMþ. Nandþ-TX✠ MREwNandþTX."

A 19. FOR A HORSE'S SPRAIN

If a horse is foundered, then you must say these words: —

"Naborrede, unde uenisti," tribus uicibus; "credidi propter," tribus uicibus. "Alpha et o, initium et finis, crux mihi uita est et tibi mors inimico;" Paternoster.

A 20. FOR PAIN IN THE LIMBS

For pain in the limbs sing nine times the following charm thereon, and spit your spittle on [the place affected]: —

"Malignus obligavit, angelus curavit, dominus saluavit."  
He will soon be well.

A 21. FOR THEFT OF CATTLE

The following is to be sung by a person when some one has stolen any of his cattle. Before you utter any other word, say, —

"Bethlehem was called the town wherein Christ was born;  
Renowned it is through all the world.  
So may this act among men become well-known,

*per crucem Christi.*" Then pray three times toward the east and say thrice: "*Crux Christi ab oriente reducat;*" and three times west, and say: "*Crux Christi ab occidente reducat;*" and three times south, and say thrice: "*Crux Christi a meridie reducat;*" and three times north, and say: "*Crux Christi abscondita est et inventa est.* The Jews crucified Christ, they did the worst of deeds to him; they hid what they could not hide. So may this deed never be hidden, *per crucem Christi.*"

A 22. FOR LOSS OF CATTLE

As soon as any one tells you that your cattle are lost, then, before you say anything else, say first, —

"Bethlehem was named the town  
Wherein Christ was born.  
Renowned it is through all the world.  
So may this act among men grow famed  
Through the Holy Rood of Christ. Amen."

for þu. — 3. Wan., G. væs. — 6. Wan., G. gebide. — 9. Wan., C., W. in for III in lines 7, 8, 9. — 9. MS., Wan. reducant. — 10. MS., Wan., G. sunt for est. — 11. Wan. places a period after hælon. — 12. Wan. þeas. Wan. forholenne.

A 22. — 1. W. sege (or sæge).

Gebide þē þonne þriwa ēast and cweþ þonne þriwa: Crux  
 Christi ab oriente reducat; gebide þē þonne þriwa west and  
 10 cweð þonne þriwa: Crux Christi ab occidente reducat; gebide  
 þē þonne þriwa sūð and cweð þriwa: Crux Christi ab austro  
 |reducat; gebide þē þonne þriwa norð and cweð þriwa: Crux 181a  
 Christi ab aquilone reducat, Crux Christi abscondita est et  
 inuenta est. Jūdēas Crīst āhengon; dydon dāda þā wyrrestan;  
 15 hālon þæt hȳ forhelan ne mihtan. Swā þeos dæd nānige þinga  
 forholen ne wurpe, þurh þā hāligan Crīstes rōde. Amen.

## A 23. WID UNCŪÐUM SWYLE

Sing on ðine læcefinger III Paternoster, and wrīt ymb þæt 17  
 sære and cweð:

Fuge, diabolus, Christus te sequitur. Quando natus est Chris-  
 tus, fugit dolor.

5 And eft III Paternoster, and III Fuge diabolus.

## A 24. WID ÆLFSOGOÞAN

Gif him biþ ælfsogoþa, him bēoþ þā ēagan geolwe, þær hī 124b  
 rēade bēon sceoldon. Gif þū þone mon lācnian wille, þænc his  
 gebāra and wite hwilces hādes hē sīe. Gif hit biþ wæpned man  
 and lōcað ūp, þonne þū hine ærest scēawast, and sē andwlita  
 5 biþ geolwe blac, þone mon þū meaht gelācnian æltæwlice, gif hē  
 ne biþ þær on tō lange. Gif hit biþ wif and lōcað niþer þonne þū  
 hit ærest scēawast, and hire andwlita biþ rēade wan, þæt þū  
 miht ēac gelācnian. Gif hit bið dægþerne leng on þonne XII  
 mōnaþ, and sīo onsȳn biþ þyslicu, þonne meaht þū hine gebētan  
 10 tō hwile and ne meaht hwæþere æltæwlice gelācnian. Wrīt þis  
 gewrit:

Scriptum est, rex regum et dominus dominantium . Byrnice .  
 Beronice . lurlure . iehe . aius . aius . aius . Sanctus . Sanctus .  
 Sanctus . dominus deus Sabaoth . amen . alleluiah.

15 Sing þis ofer þām drence and þām gewrite:

Deus omnipotens, pater domini nostri Jesu Cristi, per  
 Inpositionem huius scriptura expelle a famulo tuo, Nomen.  
 Omnem Impetum castalidum de capite, de capillis, de | cerebro, 125a  
 de fronte, de lingua, de sublingua, de guttore, de faucibus, de  
 20 dentibus, de oculis, de naribus, de auribus, de manibus, de collo,  
 de brachiis, de corde, de anima, de genibus, de coxis, de pedi-  
 bus, de compaginibus omnium membrorum intus et foris,  
 amen.

A 22. — 9. MS., C. reducað. — 12. MS., C., W. *omit* þe. — 13. MS., C. reducð.

A 23. — 1. C. in Pater. — 5. C. eftur *for* eft III.

Then pray three times toward the east, and say thrice: "*Crux Christi ab oriente reducat*;" then pray three times west, and say thrice: "*Crux Christi ab occidente reducat*;" then pray three times south, and say thrice: "*Crux Christi ab austro reducat*;" then pray three times north, and say thrice: "*Crux Christi ab aquilone reducat, Crux Christi abscondita est et inventa est*. The Jews crucified Christ; they did the worst of deeds to him; they hid what they could not hide. So may this deed in no wise be hidden, through the Holy Rood of Christ. Amen."

A 23. FOR A STRANGE SWELLING

Sing the *Paternoster* three times on your little finger, and draw a line around the sore, and say, —

"Fuge, diabolus, Christus te sequitur. Quando natus est Christus, fugit dolor."

And once more [say] the *Paternoster* three times and *Fuge diabolus* three times.

A 24. FOR ELF HICCUP

If a person has elf hiccup, his eyes will be yellow where they should be red. If you purpose to heal the patient, observe his carriage and notice of what sex he is. If it is a man, and, when you first see him, he gazes upwards and his face is yellowish black, you may cure him completely, provided he has not been afflicted too long. If it is a woman, and, when you first see her, she looks downwards and her face is a sickly red, you may also cure her. If the disease has lasted longer than a year and a day, and the face shows evidence thereof, you may ameliorate [the patient's] condition for a while, but nevertheless may not altogether cure it. Write this writing: —

"Scriptum est, rex regum et dominus dominantium . Byrnice . Beronice . Iurlure . iehe . aius . aius . aius . Sanctus . Sanctus . Sanctus . dominus deus Sabaoth . Amen . Alleluiah."

Sing this over the drink, and recite the following writing: —

"Deus omnipotens, pater domini nostri Jesu Cristi, per Inpositionem huius scriptura expelle a famulo tuo, Nomen. Omnem Impetum castalidum de capite, de capillis, de cerebro, de fronte, de lingua, de sublingua, de guttore, de faucibus, de dentibus, de oculis, de naribus, de auribus, de manibus, de collo, de brachiis, de corde, de anima, de genibus, de coxis, de pedibus, de compaginibus omnium membrorum intus et foris, amen."

A 24. — 9. C. betan. — 12. MS., C., L. eSt. — *Punctuation in lines 13 and 14 as in MS.* — 17. MS. N̄. for nomen. — 18. MS. impetuū. — 22. MS., L. compaginibus.



Wyr̃c þonne drenc: fontwæter, rūdan, sāluian, cassuc, drā-  
 25 conzan, þā smēþan wegbrædan niþewearde, fēferfūgian, diles  
 crop, gārlēaces. III clufe, finul, wermōd, lufestice, elehtre,  
 ealra emfela; wrīt III crucem mid oleum infirmorum and cweð:  
*pax tibi.* Nim þonne þæt gewrit, wrīt crucem mid ofer þām  
 drince and sing þis þær ofer:

30 Deus omnipotens, pater domini nostri Jesu Cristi, per in-  
 positionem huius scripturae et per gustum huius, expelle dia-  
 bolum a famulo tuo, Nomen. And Credo and Paternoster.

Wæt þæt gewrit on þām drenc and wrīt crucem mid him on  
 ælcum lime, and cweð:

35 Signum crucis Christi conservate. In vitam eternam, amen.

Gif þē ne lyste, hāt hine selfne, oþpe swā gesubne swā hē  
 gesibbost hæbbe; and sēnige, swā hē sēlost cunne. Þēs cræft  
 mæg wiþ ælcra fēondes costunge.

#### B 1. WIÐ DĒOFOLSĒOCNESSE

Dēos wyr̃t, þe man priapisci and ððrum naman vica pervica 68a  
 nemneð, tō manegum þingon wel fremað: Þæt ys þonne ærest  
 ongēan dēofol sēcnyssa, and wið nēdran, and wið wildēor, and  
 wið āttru, and wið gehwylce behātu, and wið andan, and wið  
 5 ōgan, and þæt ðū gife hæbbe. And gif ðū þās wyr̃te mid þē  
 hafast ðū bist gesælig and symle gecwēme. Ðās wyr̃te þū  
 scealt niman þus cweþende:

Te precor, vica pervica, multis utilitatibus habenda ut  
 venias ad me hilaris florens, cum tuis virtutibus, ut ea mihi  
 10 prestes, ut tutus et felix sim semper a venenis et ab iracundia  
 inlesus.

Þæt ys þonne on ūre geþēode:

Ic bidde þē, vica pervica, manegum nytlicnyssum tō hæbenne  
 þæt ðū glæd tō mē cume midþīnum mægenum blōwende, þæt  
 15 ðū mē gegearwie þæt ic sý gescyld and symle gesælig and un-  
 gededer fram āttrum and fram yrsunge.

Ðonne ðū þās wyr̃t niman wylt, ðū scealt bēon clāne wið  
 æghwylce unclānnysse; and ðū hý scealt niman þonne sē  
 mōna bið nigon nihta eald, and endlyfon nihta, and ðrēottýne  
 20 nyhta, and ðrittig nihta, and ðonne hē byð ānre nihte eald.

A 24. — 31. MS. scriptura. — 32. MS. N̄.

B 1. — MSS. = V., O., B., H. Edd. = C., Be. Be. *heading is* priapissi. uica peruica.  
 — 1. O. þat. O. priapissi. — 2. H. manegan. O. þinge. H. framað; O. fremað. Þat  
 is. O. þanne. Be. aerest. — 3. O. deofel. O., B. seocnessa. O. nadran. O. wyldeor.  
 — 4. H. hwylce for gehwylce. — 5. O. þat. O. gyfe. O. and gif þu mid þe þeos wyr̃t  
 hæbbe. — 6. O. byst. O. simble gecweman; H. gecwæme. H. þa for ðas. O. wyr̃t. —  
 7. O. scelt. — 8. MSS. C., Be. uica peruica; *thus throughout the charm.* — 12. O. omits

Then concoct a drink as follows: spring water, rue, sage, hassock, dragonwort, the nethermost part of the smooth plantain, feverfew, a bunch of dill, three head of garlic, fennel, wormwood, lovage, lupine — just so many of all; write a cross three times with oil of unction and say, “*Pax tibi.*” Then take the writing [which was previously recited], mark a cross with it over the drink, and sing the following over the latter: —

“Deus omnipotens, pater domini nostri Jesu Cristi, per inpositionem huius scripturae et per gustum huius, expelle diabolum a famulo tuo, Nomen. And Credo and Paternoster.”

Moisten the writing in the drink and mark a cross with it on every limb, and say, —

“Signum crucis Christi conservate. In vitam eternam, amen.”

If you do not wish to do this, let the man himself, or that relative who is nearest akin to him, do it; and let him cross himself as best he can. This artifice will prevail against every temptation of the fiend.

#### B I. AGAINST DEMONIAL POSSESSION

This herb, which is called *priapiscus*, and by another name, *vinca pervinca*, does good service in many ways: that is, for example, first against demoniacal possession, and against snakes, and against wild beasts, and against poisons, and against all threats, and against envy, and against fear; and that you may have grace. And if you have this herb with you, you shall be prosperous and always agreeable. You must pluck the herb, saying as follows: —

“Te precor, vica pervica, multis utilitatibus habenda ut venias ad me hilaris florens, cum tuis virtutibus, ut ea mihi prestes, ut tutus et felix sim semper a venenis et ab iracundia inlesus.”

That is to say, in our tongue, —

“I pray you, *vinca pervinca* — to be had for your many advantages — that you come to me joyously, blooming with your virtues, that you endow me with such qualities that I shall be shielded and ever prosperous and unharmed by poisons and by rage.”

When you mean to pluck this herb, you must be free from every defilement; and you must gather it when the moon is nine nights old, and eleven nights, and thirteen nights, and thirty nights, and when it is one night old.

ponne. — 13. O. hæbbene. — 14. O. þat. ŷug. B. mægnum. — 15. B., H. gegearwige; O. gearwie. O. p. hic. for þæt ic. O. symble. O. to sælig. O. ungederod. — 16. Be. attru. Be. fran. — 17. O. þāne. O. þeos. O. nime wult. O. clane. — 18. O. æghwile unclanasse. O. þu scealt hi niman, þonne þe; B. hig. scealt. — 19. O. byð neoga. V. omits nihta eald and endlyfon. H. ænlufon. O. enlufon nihta eald and þanne he byð anre niht eald; Be. the same, but byd. þeottene. — 20. H. þon.

## B 2. WIÐ MICLUM GONGE

Wiþ miclum gonge ofer land, þylæs hē tēorige: mucgwyrt 57a  
 nime him on hand, oþþe dō on his scō, þylæs hē mēþige; and  
 þonne hē niman wille ær sunnan ūpgange, cweþe þās word  
 ærest:

5 Tollam te artemesia, | ne lassus sim in via. 57b

Gesēna hīe, þonne þū ūptēo.

## B 3. WIÐ ÆLFADLE

Gang on þunresæfen, þonne sunne on setle sīe, þær þū wite 123b  
 elenan standan; sing þonne *Benedicite* and *Paternoster* and  
 lētanian, and sting þin seax on þā wyrte; læt stician þær on, gang  
 þē āweg. Gang eft tō þonne dæg and niht furþum scāde. On  
 5 þām ilcan ūhte, gang ærest tō ciricean and þē gesēna and gode  
 þē bebēod. Gang þonne swīgende and þēah þē hwæthwega  
 egeslices | ongēan cume oþþe man, ne cweþ þū him ænig word tō, 124a  
 ær þū cume tō þære wyrte þe þū on æfen ær gemearcodeð. Sing  
 þonne *Benedicite* and *Paternoster* and lētanīa, ādelf þā wyrte, læt  
 10 stician þæt seax þær on. Gang eft swā þū raþost mæge tō ciricean  
 and lege under wēofod mid þām seaxe; læt licgean, oþþæt  
 sunne uppe sīe. Āwæsc siþþan, dō tō drence and biscoopwyrte  
 and crīstes-mæles ragu; āwyl þriwa on meolcum, gēot þriwa  
 hāligwæter on, sing on *Paternoster* and Crēdan and *Gloria in ex-*  
 15 *celsis deo*, and sing on hine lētanīa; and hine ēac ymbwrīt mid  
 sweorde on IIII healfa on cruce and drince þone drenc siþþan.  
 Him biþ sōna sēl.

## B 4. NIGON WYRTA GALDOR

Gemyne ðū, Mucgyrt, hwæt þū āmeldodeð, 160a  
 hwæt þū rēnadeð æt Regenmelde.  
 Una þū hāttēst, yldost wyrta.  
 5 Ðū miht wið III and wið XXX,  
 þū miht wið āttre and wið onflyge,  
 þū miht wiþ þām lāþan, ðe geond lond færð.

Ond þū, Wegbrāde, wyrta mōdor,  
 ēastan openo, innan mihtigu.  
 10 Ofer ðē cræto curran, ofer ðē cwēne reodan,  
 ofer ðē brýde bryo|dedon, ofer þē fearras fnærdon. 160b  
 Eallum þū þon wiðstōde and wiðstunedeð;

B 2. — 1. Kl. gange. Kl., C., H. þy læs; *likewise in line* 2. Kl. mug-wyrte. 2. Kl. sceo.

G. medige. — 5. MS. tellam. G. artemisia. MS., L. sum. — 6. G. gesegna.

B 3. — 3. H. litanian. — 16. L. IV. H. drenc; siþþanhim.

B 2. FOR MUCH TRAVELLING

For much travelling on land, lest a person tire: let him take mugwort in his hand or put it in his shoe, lest he grow weary; and if he would pluck it before sunrise let him first say these words:—

“Tollam te artemesia, ne lassus sim in via.”

Sign it with the sign of the cross when you pull it up.

B 3. FOR ELF-DISEASE

On Thursday evening when the sun is set, go where you know that elecampane stands; then sing the *Benedicite* and a *Paternoster* and a litany, and stick your knife into the herb; let it stick fast therein and go away. Go again thither, just as day and night divide. During this same daybreak go first to church and cross yourself and commend yourself to God. Then go in silence, and, though something of a fearful kind or a man should come upon you, say not a single word to it until you reach the herb you marked the night before. Then sing the *Benedicite* and a *Paternoster* and a litany, delve up the herb, letting the knife stick fast in it. As quickly as you can, go to church and place it with the knife under the altar; let it lie until the sun has risen. Afterwards wash it and make it and bishop's-wort and lichen off a crucifix into a drink; boil the drink three times in milk, pour holy water into it three times, sing over it a *Paternoster* and a *Credo* and a *Gloria in excelsis deo*, and sing a litany over it; and also, with a sword, inscribe a cross round it on four sides, and after that let the patient drink the draught. He will soon be well.

B 4. NINE HERBS CHARM

Remember, Mugwort, what you revealed,  
What you prepared at Regenmeld.  
Una, you are called, eldest of herbs.  
You avail against three and against thirty,  
You avail against poison and against infectious sickness,  
You avail against the loathsome fiend that wanders through the land.

And you, Plantain, mother of herbs,  
Open from the east, mighty from within.  
Over you carts creaked, over you queens rode,  
Brides exclaimed over you, over you bulls gnashed their teeth.  
Yet all these you withstood and fought against:

B. 4. — 4. W., H. ond *for* and *throughout* the charm. — 6. C., W., L. pa. — 8. MS., C. opone. — 9. MS., C. 8y, *four times in lines 9 and 10*. MS., C. cræte; W. crætu.

- 12 swā ðū wiðstonde āttre and onflyge,  
and þæm lāðan, þe geond lond fereð.
- 15 Stīme hǣtte þeos wyr̥t; hēo on stāne gewēox.  
Stond hēo wið āttre, stunað hēo wærce.  
Stīðe hēo hǣtte, wiðstunað hēo āttre,  
wreceð hēo wrāðan, weorpeð ūt āttor.  
Þis is sēo wyr̥t, sēo wið wyr̥m gefeah̥t;  
þeos mæg wið āttre, hēo mæg wið onflyge,  
20 hēo mæg wið ðām lāpan, ðe geond | lond fereþ. 161a
- Flēoh þū nū, Āttorlāðe, sēo lāsse ðā māran,  
sēo mære þā læssan, oððæt him bēigra bōt sý.
- Gemyne þū, Mægðe, hwæt þū āmeldodest  
hwæt ðū geandadest æt Alorforda:  
25 þæt nǣfre for gefloge feorh ne gesealde,  
syþðan him mon mægðan tō mete gegyrede.
- Þis is sēo wyr̥t, ðe Wergulu hǣtte.  
Ðās onsænde seolh ofer sæs hrygc  
ondan āttres oþres tō bōte.
- 30 Ðās VIII ongan wið nigon āttrum.
- Wyr̥m cōm | snīcan, tōslāt hē man. 161b  
Ðā genam Wōden VIII wuldortānas,  
slōh ðā þā næddran, þæt hēo on VIII tōflēah.  
þær geandade æppel nēdran āttor,  
35 þæt hēo nǣfre ne wolde on hūs būgan.
- Fille and Finule, fela mihtigu twā,  
þā wyr̥te gescēop wītig drihten,  
hālig on heofonum, þā hē hongode.  
Sette and sænde on VII worulde  
40 | earmum and ēadigum eallum tō bōte. 162a
- Stond hēo wið wærce, stunað hēo wið āttre,  
sēo mæg wið III and wið XXX,  
wið fēondes hond and wið fār-bregde,  
wið malscrunge minra wihta.
- 45 Nū magon þās VIII wyr̥ta wið nygon wuldorgeflogenum,  
wið VIII āttrum and wið nygon onflygnum,  
wið ðý rēadan āttre, wið ðý runlan āttre,  
wið ðý hwitan āttre, wið ðý wēdenan āttre,  
wið ðý geolwan āttre, wið ðý grēnan | āttre, 162b  
50 wið ðý wonnan āttre, wið ðý wēdenan āttre,  
wið ðý brūnan āttre, wið ðý basewan āttre;  
wið wyr̥mgeblæd, wið wātergeblæd,

B 4. — 14. MS. *illegible*, stune or stime; C. stime (stune). 20. C., W., L. ðā. — 31. MS. henan. — 34. MS. and Edd. æppel and attor. — 38. C. adds sette to this line. —

So may you poison and infectious sicknesses resist  
And the loathsome fiend that wanders through the land.

Stime this herb is named; on stone it grew.  
It stands against poison, it combats pain.  
Fierce it is called, it fights against venom,  
It expels malicious [demons], it casts out venom.  
This is the herb that fought against the snake,  
This avails against venom, it avails against infectious illnesses,  
It avails against the loathsome fiend that wanders through the land.

Fly now, Betonica, the less from the greater,  
The greater from the less, until there be a remedy for both.

Remember, Camomile, what you revealed,  
What you brought about at Alorford:  
That he nevermore gave up the ghost because of ills infectious,  
Since Camomile into a drug for him was made.

This is the herb called Wergulu.  
The seal sent this over the ocean's ridge  
To heal the horror of other poison.

These nine fought against nine poisons:

A snake came sneaking, it slew a man.  
Then Woden took nine thunderbolts  
And struck the serpent so that in nine parts it flew.  
There apple destroyed the serpent's poison:  
That it nevermore in house would dwell.

Thyme and Fennel, an exceeding mighty two,  
These herbs the wise Lord created,  
Holy in heaven, while hanging [on the cross].  
He laid and placed them in the seven worlds,  
As a help for the poor and the rich alike.

It stands against pain, it fights against poison,  
It is potent against three and against thirty,  
Against a demon's hand, and against sudden guile,  
Against enchantment by vile creatures.

Now these nine herbs avail against nine accursèd spirits,  
Against nine poisons and against nine infectious ills,  
Against the red poison, against the running poison,  
Against the white poison, against the blue poison,  
Against the yellow poison, against the green poison,  
Against the black poison, *against the blue poison*,  
Against the brown poison, against the scarlet poison,  
Against worm-blister, against water-blister,

43. MS., C., H. feondes hond and wið þæs hond wið frea begde; W. hond and wið þæs fagan hond. — 47. MS. ȝa runlan.

wið þorngelblæd, wið þystelgeblæd,  
 wið ʃsgeblæd, wið ättorgeblæd;  
 55 gif ænig ättor cume ēastan flēogan oððe ænig norðan cume  
 oððe ænig westan ofer werðēode.

Crīst stōd ofer ādle ængan cundes.  
 Ic āna wāt ēa rinnende and þā nygon nædran behealdað;  
 mōtan ealle wēoda nū wyrtum | āspringan, 163a  
 60 sæs tōslūpan, eal sealt wæter,  
 ʃonne ic þis ättor of ðē geblāwe.

Mugcwyr̥t, wegbrāde þe ēastan open sȳ, lombescyr̥se, ättor-  
 lāðan, mageðan, netelan, wudusūr æppel, fille and finul, ealde  
 sāpan; gewyr̥c ðā wyr̥ta tō dūste, mænge wiþ þā sāpan and wiþ  
 65 þæs æpples gor. Wyr̥c slypan of wætere and of axsan, genim  
 finol, wyl on þære slyppan and beþe mid æggemang, þonne hē  
 þā sealfe | on dō, ge ær ge æfter. Sing þæt galdor on ælcra þāra 163b  
 wyr̥ta: III ær hē hȳ wyr̥ce, and on þone æppel eal swā; ond singe  
 þon men in þone mūð and in þā ēaran būta and on ðā wunde  
 70 þæt ilce gealdor, ær hē þā sealfe ondō.

#### B 5. WIÐ WÆTERÆLFÄDLE

Gif mon biþ on wæterælfädle, þonne bēoþ him þā handnæ- 125a  
 glas wonne and þā ēagan tēarige and wile lōcian niþer. | Dō 125b  
 him þis tō lācedōme: eforþrote, cassuc, fone niopowearð,  
 ēowberge, elehtre, eolone, merscmealwan crop, fenminte, dile,  
 5 lillie, ättorlāpe, pollēie, mārūbie, docce, ellen, felterre, wermōd,  
 strēawbergean lēaf, consolde; ofgēot mid ealaþ, dō hāligwæter  
 tō, sing þis gealdor ofer þriwa:

Ic benne awrāt betest beadowræda,  
 swā benne ne burnon, ne burston,  
 10 ne fundian, ne feologan,  
 ne hoppettan, ne wund wāco sian,  
 ne dolh diopian; ac him self healde hālewæge,  
 ne ace þē þon mā, þe eorþan on ēare ace.

Sing þis manegum sīþum: “Eorþe þē onbere eallum hire  
 15 mihtum and mægenum.” Þās galdor mon mæg singan on  
 wunde.

#### B 6. WIÐ CYRNLA

Ecce dolgula medit dudum, 186a  
 beðegunda breðegunda

B 4. — 53. MS., W. þysgeblæd. — 57. MS. alde. 64. C. mængc. — 66. MS., L. aage-  
 mogc; C. æggemancg. — 67. MS., L. on de. — 68. C. omits hy. — 70. MS., L. onde.

Against thorn-blister, against thistle-blister,  
Against ice-blister, against poison-blister,  
If any infection come flying from the east, or any come from the north,  
Or any come from the west upon the people.

Christ stood over poison of every kind.  
I alone know [the use of] running water, and the nine serpents take heed [of it].  
All pastures now may spring up with herbs,  
The seas, all salt water, vanish,  
When I blow this poison from you.

Mugwort, plantain which is open eastward, lamb's cress, betony, camomile, nettle, crab-apple, thyme and fennel, [and] old soap; reduce the herbs to a powder, mix [this] with the soap and with the juice of the apple. Make a paste of water and of ashes; take fennel, boil it in the paste and bathe with egg-mixture, either before or after the patient applies the salve. Sing the charm on each of the herbs: three times before he brews them, and on the apple likewise; and before he applies the salve, sing the charm into the patient's mouth and into both his ears and into the wound.

#### B 5. FOR THE WATER-ELF DISEASE

If a person has the water-elf disease, his finger nails will be livid and his eyes tearful and he will look downwards. Do this for him by way of medical treatment: [take] carline, hassock, the netherward part of iris, yew-berry, lupine, elecampane, a head of marshmallow, water-mint, dill, lily, betony, pennyroyal, horehound, dock, elder-wood, earth-gall, wormwood, strawberry leaves, comfrey; steep them in ale, add holy water, sing this charm over them three times: —

“Round the wounds I have wreathed the best of healing amulets,  
That the wounds may neither burn nor burst,  
Nor grow worse nor putrefy,  
Nor throb, nor be filthy wounds,  
Nor cut in deeply; but let him keep the sacred water for himself,  
Then it will pain you no more than it pains the land by the sea.”

Sing this many times: “May Earth remove you with all her might and main.” This charm may be sung on the wound.

#### B 6. FOR KERNELS

“Ecce dolgula medit dudum,  
beðegunda breðegunda

B 5.—3. G. *omits fone and niopowear*d. — 5. G. *marrubie*. — 6. G. *strawbergean*. — 8. C., L. *lines 8-13 in prose*. C., L. *binne*. G. *wræða*. — 11. C. *hoppetan*. G. *wund waxian*. — 14. G. *eoðe*. G. *mid eallum*. — 15. G. *gealdor*.



5                   elecunda eleuachia,  
                   mottem mee renum  
                   orþa fueþa  
                   leta ues noe ues  
                   terre dolge drore uhic  
                   alleluiah.

Singe man þis gebed on þæt sē man drincan wille nygan  
 10 siþan, and Paternoster nigan siþan.

                                Arcus supeð  
                   assedit uirgo cana bið  
                   lux et ure cana bið."

Sing ȝis nigon siþan and Paternoster VIII on ānum bere-  
 15 nan hlāfe, and syle þān horse etan.

#### B 7. WIÐ FLĒOGENDUM ĀTTRE

Wiþ flēogendum āttre and ælcum ætērnum swile: on frigedæge 43a  
 āþwer buteran, þe sīe gemolcen of ānes blēos nȳtne oððe hinde,  
 and ne sīe wiþ watre gemenged. Āsing ofer nigon siþum lē-  
 tanīa and nigon siþum Paternoster and nigon siþum þis gealdor:  
 5   "Acrae . ærcrae . ærnem . nadre . ærcuna hel . ærnem . niþærn .  
    ær . asan . buiþine . adcrice . ærnem . meodre . ærnem . æþern .  
    ærnem . allū . honor . ucus . idar . adcert . cunolari raticamo .  
    helæ . icas x̅pita . hæle . tobært tera . fueli . cui . robater .  
    plana . uili ."  
 10   þæt dēah tō ælcum and hūru tō dēopum dolgum.

#### C 1. WIÐ BLÆCE

Genim gōse smero and niþewearde elenan and haran sprecel, 28b  
 bisceopwyr̅t and hegrifan; þā fēower wyr̅ta cnuwa tōsomne  
 wel, āwring, dō þæron ealdre sāpan cucler fulne; gif þū hæbbe  
 lȳtel eles, meng wiþ swīþe and on niht ālyþre. Searpa þone  
 5 swēoran ofer sunnan setlgange, gēot swigende þæt blōd on  
 yrnende wæter, spīw þriwa æfter, cweþ þonne:  
    Hafe þū þās unhæle, and gewīt āweg mid.  
    Gange eft on clænne weg tō hūse and gehwæþerne gang  
    swigende.

B 7.—5. *The punctuation is that of the MS.*

elecunda eleuachia,  
mottem mee renum  
orþa fueþa  
leta ues noe ues  
terre dolge drore uhic  
alleluiah."

Have this prayer sung nine times and the *Paternoster* nine times over [a potion] which the man is about to drink.

"Arcus supeð  
assedit uirgo cana bið  
lux et nre cana bið."

Sing this nine times and the *Paternoster* nine times on a barley loaf, and give it to the horse to eat.

#### B 7. FOR INFECTIOUS DISEASE

For infectious disease and for every poisonous swelling: on a Friday churn butter which is milked from a cow or hind of a single color, and which is not diluted with water. Sing over it nine times a litany, and nine times the *Paternoster*, and nine times this charm:—

"Acræ . ærcræ . ærnem . nadre . ærcuna hel . ærnem . niþærn . ær .  
asan . buiþine . adrice . ærnem . meodre . ærnem . æþern . ærnem .  
allū . honor . ucus . idar . adcert . cunolari raticamo . helæ . icas xþita .  
hæle . tobært tera . fueli . cui . robater . plana . uili."

It avails for all wounds, and especially for deep ones.

#### C 1. FOR SCABIES

Take goose-grease and the nether end of elecampane, and viper's bugloss, bishopswort and hairif; pound the four herbs well together, squeeze them out, add thereto a spoonful of old soap; if you have a little oil, mingle it thoroughly [with the foregoing], and at night lather [the mixture] on. Scarify the neck after sunset, silently pour the blood into running water, spit three times thereafter, then say:—

"Take this evil [thing], and move away with it."

Afterwards go to your house by an open road, and go each way in silence.

## C 2. WIÐ WAMBEWÆRCE

Wiþ wambewærce and ryselwærce: þær þū gesēo tordwifel 115b  
on eorþan ūpweorpan, ymbfō hine mid twām handum mid his  
geweorpe, wāfa mid þīnum handum swiþe and cweð þriwa:

Remedium facio ad uentris dolorem.

- 5 Wearp þonne ofer bæc þone wifel on wege; beheald, þæt þū  
ne lōcige æfter. Þonne monnes wambe wærce oððe rysle,  
ymbfōh mid þīnum handum þā wambe. Him biþ sōna sēl.  
XII mōnaþ þū meahht swā dōn æfter þām wifele.

## C 3. WIÐ FLĒOGENDAN ĀTTRE

Āslēah IIII scearpan on fēower healfa mid æcenan brande; 174b  
geblōdga ðone brand, weorp on weg, sing ðis on III:

- + Matheus me ducat, + Marcus me conseruet, + Lucas me  
liberet, + Johannes me adiuuet, semper, amen. Contriue deus  
5 omnem malum et nequitiam, per uirtutem patris et filii et spiri-  
tus sancti. Sanctifica me, | emanuhel Jesus Christus, libera me 175a  
ab omnibus insidiis inimicis. Benedictio domini super capitem  
meum potens deus in omni tempore. Amen.

## C 4. WIÐ HUNTAN BITE

- Wiþ þon gif hunta gebīte mannan, þæt is swiþra, slēah þrȳ 53b  
scearpan nēah fromweardes, læt | yrnan þæt blōd on grēnne 54a  
sticcan hæslenne, weorp þonne ofer weg āweg: þonne ne biþ  
nān yfel.  
5 Eft āslēah V scearpan, āne on þām bite and fēower ymbū-  
tan; weorp mid sticcan swīgende ofer wænweg.

## C 5. WIÐ ĀSWOLLENUM ĒAGUM

Genim cucune hrēfn, ādō þā ēagan of and eft cucune gebring 111b  
on wætre; and dō þā ēagan þām men on swēoran, þe him þearf  
sīe. Hē biþ sōna hāl.

## D 1. WIÐ MARAN

Gif mon mare rīde, genim elehtran and gārlēac and betoni- 52b  
can and rēcels, bind on næsce; | hæbbe him mon on, and hē 53a  
gange in on þās wyrtē.

C 3. — 1. L. IV. — 2. C., L. supply siðum and dagum, respectively, after III. — 3.  
MS., C., L. ducað. MS., C., L. conseruæð. — 4. MS., L. liberat. MS., L. adiuuat.

C 2. FOR BOWEL-PAIN

For pain in the bowels and in the fatty part of the abdomen: when you see a dung-beetle on the ground throwing up earth, seize him and the heap [he has made] with both hands, wave him vigorously with your hands and say three times:—

“Remedium facio ad ventris dolorem.”

Then throw away the beetle over your back; take care not to look after it. When a man's bowels or belly fat pain him, grasp his abdomen with your hands. He will soon be well. You will be able to do this for twelve months after [seizing] the beetle.

C 3. AGAINST INFECTIOUS DISEASE

Make four incisions in four parts [of the body] with an oaken stick; stain the stick with blood, throw it away, and over [the patient] sing this three times:—

“+ Matheus me ducat, + Marcus me conseruet, + Lucas me liberet, + Johannes me adiuuet, semper, amen. Contriue deus omnem malum et nequitiam, per uirtutem patris et filii et spiritus sancti. Sanctifica me, emanuhel Jesus Christus, libera me ab omnibus insidiis inimicis. Benedictio domini super capitem meum potens deus in omni tempore. Amen.”

C 4. FOR A SPIDER-BITE

If a spider — that is, one of the fiercer kind — bite a man, make three incisions near but away from [the wound], let the blood run on a green hazel stick; throw [the stick] away across the road: then no ill will result.

Again, make five incisions, one on the bite and four around it; silently throw [the blood] with a stick across a cart-road.

C 5. FOR SWOLLEN EYES

Take a live crab, put out its eyes, and then return it alive to the water; and place the eyes around the neck of the man who needs them. He will soon be well.

D 1. AGAINST AN INCUBUS

If an incubus oppress a man, take lupine and garlic and betony and frankincense, bind them in a fawn-skin; let [the sufferer] have them on his person and let him go indoors with them.

C. *suggests* contere *for* contriue. — 6. MS., C.  $\overline{xps}$ ; L. cristus. — 7. MS., C., L. inimici. MS., C., L. caput.

C 4. — 2. C. grennne. — 6. C. peorp *for* weorp.

## D 2. WIÐ ONFEALLE

Gefōh fox, āslēah of cucum þone tuxl, læt hlēapan āweg; 39b  
bind on næsce; hafe þē on.

## D 3. WIÐ FĒONDES COSTUNGE

Rud molin hātte wyrt weaxeþ be yrnendum wætre. Gif þū 122b  
þā on þē hafast, and under þinum hēafodbolstre and ofer þines  
hūses durum, ne mæg ðē dēofol sceþþan, inne|ne ūte. 123a

## D 4. WIÐ HĒAFODECE

Sēc lýtle stānas on swealwan bridda magan and heald, þæt 111b  
hīe ne hrīnan eorþan, ne wætre, ne ōþrum stānum. Besēowa  
hira III on þōn þe þū wille, dō on þone mon þe him þearf sīe.  
Him biþ sōna sēl. Hī bēoþ gōde wiþ hēafodece, and wiþ ēag-  
5 wærce, and wiþ fēondes costunga, and nihtgengan, and lencten-  
ādle, and maran, and wyrt-forbore, and malscra, and yflum  
gealdorcræftum. Hit sculon bēon micle briddas þe þū hīe scealt  
onfindan.

## D 5. GAGĀTES CRÆFTAS

Be þām stāne þe gagātes hātte, is sād, þæt hē VIII mægen 108a  
hæbbe. Ān is: þonne þunorrād biþ, ne sceþeð þām men þe þone  
stān mid him hæfð. Ōþer mægen is: on swā hwilcum hūse swā  
hē biþ, ne mæg þær inne fēond wesan. Þridde mægen is: þæt  
5 nān āttor þām men|ne mæg sceþþan þe þone stān mid him 108b  
hafaf. Fēorþe mægen is: þæt sē man sē þe þone lāþan fēond on  
him dēagollice hæfþ, gif hē þæs stānes gesceafenes hwilcne dæl  
on wātan onfehð, þonne biþ sōna sweotol ætēowod on him,  
þæt ær dēagol māð. Fifte mægen is: sē þe ænigre ādle gedreht  
10 biþ, gif hē þone stān on wātan þigeþ, him biþ sōna sēl. Syxte  
mægen is: þæt drȳcræft þām men ne dereþ sē þe hine mid him  
hæfð. Seoforþe mægen is: þæt sē þe þone stān on drince on-  
fehð, hē hæfþ þē smēþran lichoman. Eahtoþe is þæs stānes  
mægen: þæt nān nādran cynnes bite þām sceþþan ne mæg, þe  
15 þone stān on wātan byrigþ.

## D 6. BLŌDSETEN

Gehāl beren ēar bestinge on ēare, swā hē nyte. Sume þis 20a  
writað:

D 3. — 1. C., L. niolin. — 2. L. *begins a new paragraph at* þinum. — 3. C. þe. MS., C. Inne.

D 2. FOR A SWELLING

Catch a fox, cut off his tusk while he is alive, let him run away; bind [the tusk] in a fawn-skin; have it with you.

D 3. AGAINST THE ASSAULTS OF THE FIEND

Red mullein is the name of an herb that grows near running water. If you have it on your person and under your pillow and over the doors of your house, a devil may not injure you within or without.

D 4. FOR HEADACHE

Look for little stones in a young swallow's stomach, and take care that they touch neither earth, water, nor other stones. Select any three of them that you choose; put them on the person in distress: he will soon be well. They are good for headache, and for pain in the eyes, and against the temptations of a fiend, and against nocturnal demons, and for ague, and against incubi, and for sexual constriction, and for bewitchment, and against wicked incantations. They must be well-grown nestlings in whom you are to find the stones.

D 5. THE VIRTUES OF JET

Of the stone called jet it is said that it has eight virtues. One is: when the thunder crashes, it will not harm the man who carries this stone with him. Another virtue is: in whatsoever house it may be, no demon can stay therein. The third virtue is: that no poison can injure the person who carries this stone with him. The fourth virtue is: that if the man who is secretly possessed with the hateful fiend, take, in liquid, any portion of the shavings of the stone — then that which before was profoundly concealed, will soon be visibly manifested in him. The fifth virtue is: if the person who is afflicted with any disease take the stone in liquid, he will soon be well. The sixth virtue is: that sorcery will not injure the man who carries [the stone] with him. The seventh virtue is: that he who takes the stone in a potion, will have so much the smoother body. The eighth virtue of the stone is: that no bite of any kind of snake can injure him who takes the stone in liquid.

D 6. FOR STANCHING BLOOD

Thrust a whole ear of barley into [the sufferer's] ear in such a way that he be unaware of it. Some write the following:—

D 5. — 6. L. feondon.

+ Ægryn . thon . struth . fola argrenn . tart . struth . on . tria .  
 enn . piath . | hathu . morfana . on hæl + ara . carn . leou . groth . 20b  
 5 weorn . + + + fil . crondi . weorn . ✕ . mro . cron . ærcrio .  
 ermio . aer . leno .

Ge horse ge men blōdseten.

#### D 7. BE GALDORSTAFUM

Gif þū wille gān tō þīnum hlāforde oþþe tō kyninge oþþe tō 136b  
 oþrum menn oððe tō gemōte, þonne bær þū þās stafas : ælc þæra  
 þonne bið hē þē liþe and blið.

XX . h . d . e . o . e . o . o . o . e . e . e . laf . d . R . U . fi .  
 5 ð . f . p . A . x . Box . Nux . In nomine patris Rex . M . p . x .  
 XIX . xls . xli . ih . + Deo . eo . deo . deeo . lafdruel . bepax .  
 box . nux . bu . In nomine patris rex mariæ . Jesus Christus  
 dominus meus . Jesus + . Eonfra . senioribus . H . hrinlur . her .  
 letus contra me . hee . larrhibus excitatio pacis inter virum and  
 10 mulierem A . B . and alfa tibi reddit uota fructu leta . lita . tota .  
 tauta . uel tellus et ade uirescit .

#### D 8. WIÐ LĒODRŪNAN

Wiþ ælcra yfelre lēodrūnan and wið ælfsidenne, þis gewrit 52b  
 writ him, þis Grēciscum stafum :

+<sup>+</sup>A + + O + <sup>o</sup>Y + ipByM + + + + : BeroNNIKNETTANI.

#### D 9. WIÐ LENCTENĀDLE

✕MMRMþ. Nandþ TX✕MREwNandþTX. 53a

Eft sceal mon swīgende þis wrītan, and dōn þās word swī-  
 gende on þā winstran brēost. And ne gā hē in on þæt gewrit, ne  
 in on ber. And ēac swīgende þis on dōn :

5 HAMMANy°EL . BPONICe . NOY°ewTAY°EPG.

D 6. — 3. *The punctuation of MS. is followed in lines 3-6.* — 5. C. ffil. C., L. w for weorn. — 6. MS., C. aeR . leNo.

" + Ægryn . thon . struth . fola argrenn . tart . struth . on . tria . enn . piath . hathu . morfana . on hæl + ara . carn . leou . groth . weorn . + + + fil . crondi . weorn . ✕ . mro . cron . ærcrio . ermio . aer . leno."

For stanching blood in horse or man.

#### D 7. CONCERNING MAGIC WRITINGS

If you desire to go to your lord or to the king or to another man or to an assembly, then carry these writings with you: every one of them will then be friendly and gracious to you.

"XX . h . d . e . o . e . o . o . o . e . e . e . e . laf . d . R . U . fi . ŝ . f . p . A . x . Box . Nux . In nomine patris Rex . M . p . x . XIX . xls . xli . ih . + Deo . eo . deo . deeo . lafdruel . bepax . box . nux . bu . In nomine patris rex mariæ . Jesus Christus dominus meus . Jesus + . Eonfra . senioribus . H . hrinlur . her . letus contra me . hee . larrhibus excitatio pacis inter virum and mulierem A . B . and alfa tibi reddit uota fructu leta . lita . tota . tauta . uel tellus et ade uirescit."

#### D 8. AGAINST A SORCERESS

Against every wicked sorceress and against elfin influence, write for [the patient] this writing and these Greek letters:—

+ <sup>+</sup>Ā + + O + <sup>o</sup>Ÿ + ipByM + + + + + : BeroNNIKNETTANI.

#### D 9. FOR AGUE

✕MMRMp. Nandþ TX✕MREwNandþTX.

Again, a man must silently write the above and silently put those words on his left breast. And let him not go indoors with the writing, nor carry it indoors. And [he must] also silently put this on:—

HAMMANy°EL . BPONICe . NOY°ewTAY°EPG.

D 7. — 1. MS. *unintelligible between wille and to*; C. wille g to. 11. C. t for et.

D 8. — 3. C. + + A. C. Bepp.



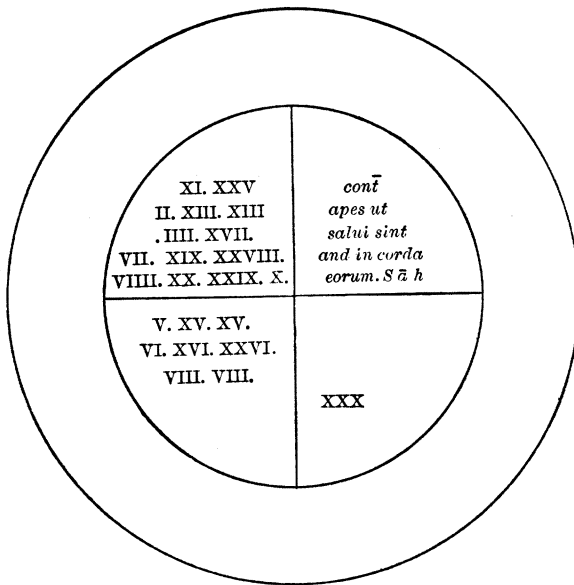
## D 10. WIÐ ÛTSIHTE

Þysne pistol sē ængel brōhte tō Rōme, þā hȳ wāran mid 183b  
 Ûtsihte micclum geswæncte. Writ þis on swā langum bōcfelle,  
 þæt hit mæge befōn ūtan þæt hēafod, and hōh on þæs mannes  
 swēoran, þe him þearf sȳ. Him bið sōna sēl:

5 Ranmigan adonai eltheos mur. O ineffabile Omiginan mid  
 anmian misane|dimas mode mida memagartem Orta min sig- 184a  
 mone beronice irritas uenas quasi dulap feruor fruxantis sangui-  
 nis siccatur fla fracta frigula mirgui etsihdon segulta frautantur  
 in arno midoninis abar uetho sydone multo saccula pp pppp  
 10 sother sother miserere mei deus deus mini deus mi. λ )~( Ny  
 Alleluiah. Alleluiah.

## D 11. FELD-BŌT

Þis is Sancte Columcille Circul:



Writ þysne circul mid þīnes cnīfes orde on ānum mealan 13b  
 stāne, and slēah ænne stacan on middan þām ymbhagan; and  
 lege þone stān on uppan þām stacan þæt hē bēo eall under eorðan  
 5 būtan þām gewrītenan.

D 10. — 10. The symbols are illegible; L. omits them. — 11. MS., All. All., with both  
 "l's" crossed.

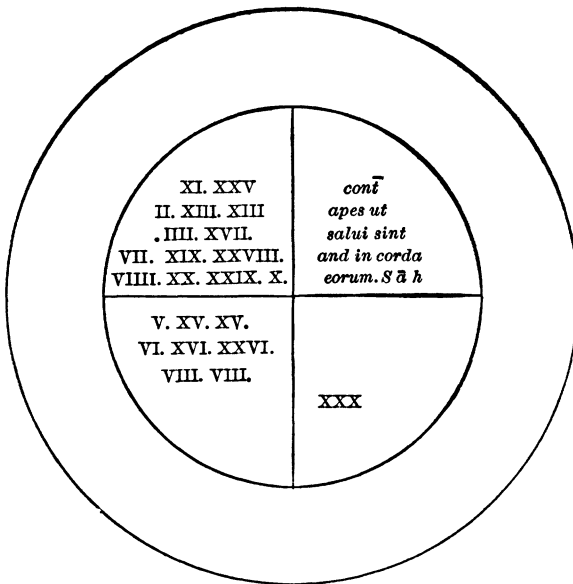
D 10. FOR DIARRHŒA

The angel brought this epistle to Rome when they were severely scourged with diarrhœa. Write this on a parchment so long that it can envelop the head outside, and hang it on the neck of the person who is in distress. He will soon be well:—

“Ranmigan adonai eltheos mur. O ineffabile Omiginan mid anmian misane dimas mode mida memagartem Orta min sigmone beronice irritas uenas quasi dulap feruor fruxantis sanguinis siccatur fla fracta frigula mirgui etsihdon segulta frautantur in arno midoninis abar uetho sydone multo saccula pp pppp sother sother miserere mei deus deus mini deus mi. λ )~( N y Alleluiah. Alleluiah.”

D 11. A FIELD REMEDY

This is St. Columbkil's circle:—



Inscribe this circle with the point of your knife on a meal stone, and drive a stake into the middle of the hedge surrounding your land; then lay the stone against the stake so that it will all be underground except the side written upon.

## D 12. WIÐ ÞĒOFENDE

Þonne þē man hwet forstele, āwrīt þis swigende and dō on 13b  
 þinne winstran scō under þinum hō. Þonne geācsaxt þū hit  
 sōna.

<i>er</i>	<i>hx</i>
<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>
<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>
<i>xh</i>	<i>hx</i>

## E 1. WIÐ LÆTBYRDE

Sē wifman, sē hire cild āfēdan ne mæg, gange tō gewītenes 185b  
 mannes birgenne, and stæppe þonne þriwa ofer þā byrgenne,  
 and cweþe þonne þriwa þās word:

5            þis mē tō bōte þære lāþan lætbyrde,  
              þis mē tō bōte þære swæran swærtbyrde,  
              þis mē tō bōte þære lāðan lambyrde.

And þonne þæt wif sēo mid bearne and hēo tō hyre hlāforde  
 on reste gā, þonne cweþe hēo:

10            Ūp ic gonge, ofer þē stæppe  
              mid cwican cilde, nalæs mid cwellendum,  
              mid fulborenum nalæs mid fægan.

And þonne sēo mōdor gefēle þæt þæt bearn sī cwic, gā þonne  
 tō cyrican, and þonne hēo tōforan þān wēofode cume, cweþe  
 þonne:

15            Criste, ic sæde, þis gecyþed.

D 12. AGAINST THEFT

When a man steals anything from you, write this silently and put it in your left shoe under your heel. Then you will soon find out about it.

<i>er</i>	<i>hx</i>
<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>
<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>
<i>xh</i>	<i>hx</i>

E 1. FOR DELAYED BIRTH

Let the woman who cannot bring forth her child go to the grave of a wise man, and step three times over the grave, and then say these words three times: —

“This be my cure for the loathsome late-birth,  
This be my cure for the grievous swart-birth,  
This be my cure for the loathsome lame-birth.”<sup>1</sup>

And when the woman is with child and she goes to bed to her husband, then let her say, —

“Up I go, over you I step,  
With a live child not with a dying one,  
With a full-born child, not with a dead one.”

And when the mother feels that the child is quick, let her then go to church, and when she comes before the altar, let her then say: —

“By Christ, I said, this [miracle] has been manifested.”

<sup>1</sup> That is, imperfect birth.

Sē wifmon, sē hyre bearn āfēdan ne mæge, genime hēo sylf  
hyre āgenes cildes gebyrgenne dæl, wrȳ æfter þonne on blace  
wulle and bebigge tō cēpemannum, and cweþe þonne:

20                   | Ic hit bebigge, ge hit bebiggan,                   185b  
                    þās sweartan wulle and þysse sorge corn.

Sē wifman, sē ne mæge bearn āfēdan, nime þonne ānes blēos  
cū meoluc on hyre handa, and gesupe þonne mid hyre mūþe,  
and gange þonne tō yrnendum wætere and spīwe þær in þā  
meolc; and hlade þonne mid þære ylcan hand þæs wæteres  
25 mūðfulne and forswelge. Cweþe þonne þās word:

Gehwēr fērde ic mē þone mæran maga þihtan  
mid þysse mæran mete þihtan;  
þonne ic mē wille habban and hām gān.

þonne hēo tō þān brōce gā, þonne ne besēo hēo, nō ne eft  
30 þonne hēo þanan gā; and þonne gā hēo in oþer hūs oþer hēo ūt  
ofēode and þær gebyrge metes.

#### E 2. WIÐ YLFA GESCOTUM

Gif hors ofscoten sīe, nim þonne þæt seax þe þæt hæfte sīe 106a  
fealo hrȳþeres horn, and sīen III ærene næglas on. Writ þonne  
þām horse on þām hēafde foran crīstes mæl, þæt hit blēde; writ  
þonne on þām hricge crīstes mæl, and on leoþa gehwilcum þe þū  
5 ætfēolan mæge. Nim þonne þæt winestre ēare, þurhsting  
swīgende. Þis þū scealt dōn: Genim āne girde, slēah on þæt  
bæc, þonne biþ þæt hors hāl. And āwrit on þæs seaxes horne  
þās word:

Benedicite omnia opera domini dominum.

10   Sȳ þæt ylfa þe him sīe, þis him mæg tō bōte.

#### E 3. WIÐ MŌNADSEOCNESSE

Wiþ þon þe mon sīe mōnaþ sēoc, nim mereswīnes fel, wyrce 120a  
tō swipan; swing mid þone man: sōna bið sēl. Amen.

#### E 4. WIÐ SWĪNA FÆR-STEORFAN

Dōa in heora mete: sēoð glidan, syle etan; nim ēac elehtran, 178a  
bisceopwyrht and cassuc, ðēfeþorn, hegerifan, haranspicel. Sing  
ofer fēower mæssan, drif on fald, hōh ðā wyrte on fēower healfe  
and on þān dore, bærn, dō rēcels tō. Læt yrnan ofer þone rēc.

E 1. — 16. K. wifman. — 17. K. þry. K. ðon or. — 21. MS., C. man for wifman.  
MS., C. se þe; K. seðe ne. — 22. MS., C. handæ. — 24. W. meocl. — 28. K. ðone.  
— 29. K. omits ne before beseo.

Let the woman who cannot bring forth her child, herself take some [earth] from the grave of one of her own children, wrap it up afterwards in black wool, sell it to merchants, and then say:—

“I sell it or have sold it,  
This evil wool and the grains of this woe.”

Let the woman who cannot bring forth her child take, in her palm, the milk of a cow of one color and sop it up with her mouth, and then go to running water and spit the milk therein; and with the same hand let her scoop up a mouthful of the water and swallow it. Let her then say these words:—

“Always have I carried with me this great strong hero,  
Through this famous food, a hero.  
Then I wish to have it and go home.”

When she goes to the brook, then let her not look around, nor yet when she goes thence; and let her thereafter go into a house other than the one from which she set out, and there let her take food.

E 2. FOR ELF-SHOT

If a horse is elf-struck, take a knife of which the handle is horn from a tawny ox and on which are three brass nails. Then inscribe a cross on the horse's forehead until it bleed; next mark a cross on [the animal's] back and on each of its limbs that you can hold on to. Then grasp the left ear, pierce it in silence. This you must do: take a stick, strike [the horse] on its back, then it will be well. And on the horn of the knife inscribe these words:—

“Benedicite omnia opera domini dominum.”

Be the elf who he may, this will suffice as a cure for him.

E 3. FOR LUNACY

If a man is demented, take the skin of a porpoise, make it into a whip, flog the man with it: he will soon be well. Amen.

E 4. FOR SUDDEN PESTILENCE AMONG SWINE

Put into their food:—boil iris, give it [them] to eat; also take lupine, bishopswort and hassock, buckthorn, hairif, viper's bugloss. Sing four masses over [the herbs], drive [the swine] into the fold. Hang the herbs on the four sides and on the door, burn them, add frankincense. Let the smoke pour over [the animals].

E 2. — 1. L. pe. — 3. C. *omits* þæt hit . . . cristes mæl.

E 4. — 1. C. do a.

## E 5. WIF ÞĀ STĪÞESTAN FĒFERAS

Genim þās sylfan wyrte, [smeoruwyrte], and gedrige hȳ; 27b  
smoca þonne þærmid. Hēo āfligð nalæs þone fēfer ēac swylce  
dēofulsēocnyssa.

## E 6. WIÐ DWEORH

Writ þis ondlang þā earmas wið dweorh: 164b  
+t+ $\bar{w}$   $\bar{A}$

and gnid cȳleðēnigean on ealað. Sanctus Macutus, sancte  
Victorici. | Writ þis ondlang þā earmas wið dweorh: 165a

5 +t+p+t+N+w+t+m+M+ $\bar{w}$   $\bar{A}$   
and gnid cȳleþēnigean on ealað. Sanctus Macutus, sancte  
Victorici.

## E 7. WIÐ BLÖDRENE OF NOSU

Wið blödrene of nosu, wriht tō his forhēafod on Crīstes mēl: 19

Stomen  
Stomen metafōfu +  
Stomen calcos +

## E 8. WIÐ ÆLFCYNNE

Wyrsc sealfe wið ælfcynne and nihtgengan and þām mannun 123a  
þe dēofol midhāmð. Genim ēowohumelan, wermōd, bisceop-  
wyrht, elehtre, æscþrote, beolone, hārewyrht, haransprecel,  
hæþbergean wisan, crāwlēac, gārlēac, hegerifan corn, gyþrife,  
5 finul. Dō þās wyrta on ān fæt, sete under wēofod, sing ofer  
VIII mæssan, āwyl on buteran and on scēapes smerwe, dō  
hāliges sealtes fela on, āsēoh þurh clāð; weorp þā wyrta on  
yrnende wæter. Gif men hwilc yfel costung weorþe, oþþe ælf  
| oþþe nihtgengan, smire his andwlitan mid þisse sealfe, and on 123b  
10 his ēagan dō, and þær him sē lichoma sār sīe, and rēcelsa hine,  
and sēna gelōme. His þing biþ sōna sēlre.

E 5.—MSS. = V., B., H. *Ed.* = C. — H. þæ. H., V., C. stipustan. — 1. B. gedrig hig. —  
2. H. mængc hi smoca hy þoñ. B. þarmid. B. nælæs; H. nælas. — 3. B. seocnessa; H.  
seocnesse.

E 5. FOR THE STUBBORNEST FEVERS

Take the same herb, [smerewort], and dry it; then smoke the patient with it. It will drive away not only the fever but also demoniacal possession.

E 6. AGAINST A DWARF

Against a dwarf write this along the arms:—

+t+ $\bar{w}$   $\bar{A}$

and crumble celandine into ale. St. Macutus, St. Victoricus. Against a dwarf write this along the arms:—

+t+p+t+N+w+t+m+M+ $\bar{w}$ + $\bar{A}$

and crumble celandine into ale. St. Macutus, St. Victoricus.

E 7. FOR NOSE-BLEED

For a hemorrhage at the nose: inscribe [the following] crosswise on the sufferer's forehead:

	Stomen	
Stomen	metafotu	calcos +
	+	

E 8. AGAINST THE ELFIN RACE

Make a salve against the elfin race and against nocturnal demons and against the women whom the fiend cohabits with. Take the female hop-plant, wormwood, bishopswort, lupine, vervain, henbane, harewort, viper's bugloss, whortleberry plants, crow-leek, garlic, hairif grains, cockle, fennel. Put the herbs into a vessel, place them under the altar, sing nine masses over them, boil them in butter and in sheep's grease, add plenty of consecrated salt, strain through a cloth; throw the herbs into running water. If any wicked temptation come to a man, or an elf or a nocturnal demon [assail him], smear his forehead with this salve, and put some on his eyes and some where his body is sore; and perfume him with incense, and repeatedly sign him with the sign of the cross. His condition will soon be better.

E 6. — 1. L. da. — 2. C.  $\bar{w}$ ; L. *omits*  $\bar{A}$ . — 3. MS., L.  $\dot{s}$ . for sanctus. — 5. C. m+ $\omega$ .

E 7. — 1. C. wid.

E 8. — 4. C., L. cropleac. — 6. L. IX.



## E 9. WIÐ NÆDRAN BITE

Sume ān word wið nædran bite lærað tō cweþenne, þæt is: 43a  
 “faul.” Ne mæg him derian. Wið nædran slite, gif hē beget and  
 yt rinde sīo þe cymð of neorxnawonge, ne dereð him nān  
 ātter.

## E 10. WIÐ WYRT-FORBORE

Gif mon sīe wyrtum forboren, sele springwyr̥t þæt hē ete, 43b  
 and hāligwæter sūpe. Wiþ þon þe mon sīe forboren, gif hē  
 hæfþ on him scyttisc weax, þā smalan āttorlāðan, oððe on  
 āwyldum ealað drince, ne mæg hine wyrtum forberan.

## E 11. WIÐ DWEORG

Dweorg on weg tō donne: hwītes hundes þost gecnucadne 46a  
 tō dūste and gemenged wið meluwe and tō cicle ābacen; syle  
 etan þām untruman men, ær þære tide hys tōcymes, swā on  
 dæge swā on nihte swæper hyt sȳ. His tōgān bið ðearle strang;  
 5 and æfter þām hē lȳtlað and on weg gewēteþ.

## E 12. WIÐ WĪFGEMÆDLAN

Geberge on neahtnestig rædices moran. þȳ dæge ne mæg þē 122b  
 sē gemædla sceþþan.

## E 13. WIÐ WENNUM

Gif wānnas eglīan mæn æt þære heortan, gange mædenman 189a  
 tō wylle þe rihte ēast yrne, and gehlade āne cuppan fulle forð  
 mid ðām strēame, and singe þæron Crēdan and Paternoster;  
 and gēote þonne on oþer fæt, and hlade eft oþre, and singe eft  
 5 Crēdan and Paternoster, and dō swā, þæt þū hæbbe þrēo. Dō  
 swā nygon dagas; sōna him bið sēl.

## E 14. WIÐ ÆLFE AND WIÐ SIDSAN

Wið ælfe and wiþ uncūþum sidsan, gnīd myrran on wīn and 107b  
 hwītes rēcelses emmicel, and sceaf gagātes dæl þæs stānes on  
 þæt wīn. Drince III morgenas | neahtnestig, oþþe VIII oþþe 108a  
 XII.

E. 11. MSS. = V., B., O. Ed. = C. — 1. C. dreorg. B. gecnocodne. — 2. B. gemænged;  
 V. gemengen. V., C. meolowe. — 3. V. þær; B. þære. — 4. V. wswa on for swa on.  
 B. swa hwper.

E 9. AGAINST SNAKE-BITE

Against snake-bite, some advise us to pronounce one word, that is, "Faul;" [then] it will not be able to damage him. For a bite made by a snake, if the sufferer procure and eat the rind which comes from Paradise, no poison will injure him.

E 10. FOR SEXUAL CONSTRICTION

If a man is sexually restrained by herbs, give him the caper-plant to eat and let him drink holy water. Should a man be restrained: if he have Scotch wax [and] the slender betony on his person — or let him drink [them] in boiled ale — he cannot be restrained by herbs.

E 11. AGAINST A DWARF

To drive away a dwarf: the dung of a white dog pounded to a dust and mixed with flour and baked to a cake; give it the afflicted person to eat before the time of the dwarf's arrival, either in the daytime or at night, whichever it may be. His attack will [at first] be exceedingly severe, but after that it will abate and completely pass away.

E 12. AGAINST A WITCH'S SPELL

After fasting for a night, eat the root of a radish. On that day the spell will not have power to harm you.

E 13. FOR WENS

If tumors near the heart afflict a man, let a virgin go to a spring which runs due east, and draw a cupful, moving [the cup] with the current, and sing upon it the *Creed* and a *Paternoster*; and then pour it into another vessel, and thereafter draw some more, and again sing the *Creed* and a *Paternoster*, and do this until you have three [cups full]. Do this so for nine days: he will soon be well.

E 14. AGAINST AN ELF AND AGAINST CHARM-MAGIC

Against an elf and against strange charm-magic: into wine crumble myrrh and an equal portion of white frankincense, and shave a part of the stone, jet, into the wine. After fasting at night, drink this for three or for nine or for twelve mornings.

E 13. — 2. K. riht.

E 14. — 3. L. IX.

## NOTES

## A 1

MS. — Harley 585, p. 175 a.

Editions. — Wr. ii, 237; G. ii, 1039; K. i, 403; E. 302; B. i, lxxxv; R. 142; C. iii, 52; S. 122; WA. 33; W. i, 317.

Translations. — *English*: C. iii, 53; Stallybrass, iii, 1244; Brooke, 159; Gum. 372; Cook and Tinker, 168. — *German*: G. ii, 1040; B. i, lxxxvii; Kögel, i, 93.

Criticisms. — G. ii, 1039; K. i, 403; B. i, 88; Ten Brink, i, 66; Brooke, 159; Kögel, i, 93 ff.

Analysis. — The spell is intended to cure a sudden twinge or stitch, possibly rheumatism, supposedly due (see lines 3, 8, 19, 23, and 24) to shots sent by witches, elves, and other spirits flying through the air. The charm falls naturally into five divisions: 1 (lines 1-2), A recipe for a magic herbal concoction; 2 (lines 2-5), The epic introduction; 3 (lines 6-17), The attack of the flying demons and the exorcist's three retaliatory measures, — flying dart, knife forged by the smith, and spears wrought by six smiths; 4 (lines 18-28), The principal incantation; 5 (line 29), A final direction to the exorcist.

A similar charm is found among the Finns (see Comparetti, 273 ff.), but the epic elements are missing. Spears and arrows have been hurled by a malignant sorcerer, while the healing exorcist threatens to attack the evil one with magic pincers made by the great smith Ilmarinen. Another Finnish charm against stitch is in Aber. i, 345. Cf. also the remedy in EE 15 for "hwæt-hwega þæs þe fram scottum come."

*Wið Færstice*. — "Gegen Hexenstich" is the German title for such charms. Other charms for shots are DD 12, EE 2, and EE 27.

3. — Cf. the myth of the "furious host," or "wild hunt," a hideous rout of spirits led by Woden in the capacity of god of the winds and the tempest (see Grimm, ii, 765; and Mogk in *Grdr.* 1002). An Icelandic charm against witches riding through the air is in *Hǫvumǫl*, 154.

6. — *Ūt, lýtel spere*, etc. — This formula occurs four times in Part 3, of which it forms the keynote. It is stated at the beginning, and repeated after the mention of each counter-measure. At its fourth appearance it reads, "Out spear, not in, spear." Cf. the formula "In dock, out nettle," common in the north of England as a spell for nettle-sting (Henderson, 17), and used to express inconstancy in Chaucer's *Troil. and Cris.* iv, 461: "*Neile in, dokke out, now this, now that Pandare.*" Cf. also "*Gang ut, nesso*," a formula in the OHG. charm against worms (*Denkm.* i, 17); and "Out fire, in frost," common in England (*F. L. S.*, *passim*).

8. — *Mihigan wif*. A conciliatory, flattering expression like *sigewif* in A 4.

13. — *Sæt smið*. Wayland possibly. Cf. Ilmarinen, above.

14. — *Īserna wund*. A half-line appears to be missing. Rieger expands into *Īserna vrāðost vundrum sviðe*. Kögel changes to *Īsern āwund swiðe*. *Āwund* is formed like *āwōh* (= *mid wōge*, etc.), and means *valde vulnerans* (= *stark im verwunden*). The translation would be "A smith sat, he wrought a little knife, a sharp cutting-iron."

16. — Meyer (160) declares that the smiths were undoubtedly elves.

20. — The concatenation in lines 20–22 resembles that in lines 6–8 of the Merseburg dislocation spell (*Denkm.* i, 16).

21. — The second half-line was first inserted by Grimm; other Edd. followed.

23. — The degradation of the gods, who are mentioned in one breath with elves and witches, is due to Christian influence. With *ēsa gescot* cf. *Indra shots* in *AV.* iv, 37; with *ylfa gescot* cf. German *Alpschoss* (Meyer, 155), Swed. *aelfjquarn*, Eng. *elfstone*, Norw. *alfpil*, Scotch *elf-flint*, *elf-arrow*, *elf-bolt*. In Scotland, elf-bolts were long believed to be actual missiles such as those referred to in the charm. Sick cattle in Norway are still called *aeliskudt* (=“elf-shot”). Later superstition spoke of shots sent by the Devil. See spell *Contra sagittam diaboli* (Grimm, ii, 1032). Cf., further, *pā dēoflu jeohiende scuton heora fjrenan flan ongēan ðā sāwle* (*Ælf.*, *Hom.* ii, 142). Shots of fiends arouse unholy desires in men (see *Beowulf*, 1743–47).

27. — *Flēoh*, etc. A command formula (cf. charac. 4, p. 115). Witches and spirits generally, were, in later folk-lore, believed to live in hills, rocks, wildernesses, etc. (see Grimm, ii, 795 ff). The same formula is found in a Syriac charm (see *Journ. Am. Orient. Soc.* xv, 284). — C. translates the line “Fled Thor to the mountain. Hallows he had two.” K.’s reading agrees with C.’s; so that W., in footnote to (his) line 27, erroneously quotes K. — G. first inserted the second half-line; W. omits it.

29. — *Seax*. The knife is apparently to be used on some dummy representing the evil spirits (cf. charac. 9, p. 119 [association of ideas]).

## A 2

*MS.* — Harley 585, p. 167 a.

*Editions.* — C. iii, 42; W. i, 326; Sch. (in *Angl.* xxx, 257) prints the verse only.

*Translations.* — C. iii, 42; Brooke, 473; Sch. in *Angl.* 258.

*Criticism.* — Brooke, 473.

*Analysis.* — The charm falls into two main divisions: A (lines 1–8), comprising directions for a superstitious ceremonial; B (lines 9–21), including the incantatory portion. In part A, lines 1–3 form a Christian preface to the superstitious ritual of lines 4–8. Part B is a characteristic Heathen spell with an epic passage (lines 9–16) and an “Amen fiat” tacked on at the end to save appearances.

Wülker (i, 326, note to line 12) concludes from line 16 that the charm is for a tumor on the neck. The inference is open to question. From E 11, also against a dwarf, one would conclude that some paroxysmal disease was meant. Cf. Cockayne, i, 364, and iii, 38. I take *hit*, line 7, to refer to the *spider-wiht* of line 9. The spider cure is a common one in folk-lore (see Black, 59 ff.; and *Suffolk*, 21). Spiders were hung around the neck, the arm, etc., irrespective of the seat of the disease. — The incantatory passage is full of obscurities, but the general meaning can be puzzled out. *pū* (line 11) refers to the plaguing dwarf responsible for the attack; and the sense is that the spider wight is to ride off, using the dwarf-demon as his horse (cf. demons riding men [Grimm, i, 384]). As soon as they have ridden away, the wounds begin to cool. — From line 17, it would appear that the spell was first pronounced by some woman famed for her charm-lore (cf. the spells of Groa [see *Grógaldr* in *Svipdagsmöl*]). For the importance of women as exorcists in early Germanic times, see Meyer, 306 ff., and Gum. 389).

4. — *Maximianus*, etc. The famous seven youths of Ephesus who slept in Mt. Celion for 230 years. The same persons are invoked in AA 15. In AA 14, "for fever," the sleepers are (less usually) named Eugenius, Stephanus, Portarius, Dyonisius, Sambucius, Cecilius, Cyriacus.

10. — *Haman*, *hama* = *camus*.

12. — *Legeþ hē*, etc. The reconstruction is Schlutter's.

19. — *Galdor begytan*, etc., and *galdor ongalan*, etc., in the next line, point to specific ability demanded of exorcismal craftsmen.

## A 3

MS. — Royal 4 A xiv, p. 23 a.

Editions. — Bi. 485; Z<sup>2</sup>. in *ZfdA.* xxxi, 45.

Translations. — Bi. 485; Z<sup>2</sup>. 47; Black, 169.

Analysis. — This is a quaint charm, quite unlike any other in the A group: it lacks the epic passage and the heroic style characteristic of the poetic incantations. The exorcist first uses a command formula (lines 1-3), then adopts a persuasive tone in lines 4-5, only to return to another command in lines 6-7, and to a typical exorcism (lines 8-13) based on similitude (see charac. 9, p. 119). The passage includes a series of six similes, whose force rests on sympathy between the respective similes and the desired extinction of the wen.

3. — *þū . . . berhge*. Cf. *Flēoh þār*, etc. (A 1, line 27). The same command is given to the *Plague* in a Finnish song (Shröter, 60).

6. — Cf. "on the bear's paw, on the wolf's claw and on the eagle beak," in *Sigdrifumöl*, 16. For the eagle's influence in similar cases, see spells in AV. i, 153.3 and 296.1.

9. — *Scearn āwāge*. The MS. reading *scesne awage* is unintelligible. Z<sup>2</sup>. suggests *scearn*, and *āwāge* may be taken for *on wāge*.

## A 4

MS. — Corpus Christi, 41, p. 202.

Editions. — G. i, 358 and ii, 1040; K. i, 404 (lines 7-11 only); R. 143 (lines 7-11); C. i, 384; S. 122; Z. 189 ff.; WA. 34; W. i, 319.

Translations. — *English*: C. i, 385; K. i, 404; Stallybrass, i, 431 and iii, 1245; Brooke, 155; Cook and Tinker, 167. — *German*: Z. 189 ff.

Criticisms. — Z. i, 189 ff.; Brooke, 156.

Analysis. — The charm is in two parts: the first consisting of the introduction and of the first speech; the second, of the directions and of the concluding speech. The second part was long believed to be a separate spell referring to the Valkyries (cf. *sigewif*, line 8). Grimm noticed a connection between the passages, but Cockayne first printed the complete charm.

The spell reveals affinities with the OHG. *Lorscher Bienensegen* (*Denkm.* i, 34), and with other German spells in *Denkm.* ii, 90 ff. Also cf. the Latin bee spells in *Analecta Græciensa*, No. 2; in Grimm, ii, 1032; ii, 1037; and in *Zupitza*, 191. DD 1 is an AS. amulet charm for loss of bees.

For superstitions about bees, see Grimm, ii, 579 ff., and 755, note 1; Gum. 45; F. L. S. xxxvi, Part II, 5 ff.; Germ. i, 107.

1. — Cf. *Et tange terram utraque manu et dic . . .* in epilepsy spell (*Denkm.* ii, 300).

3. — *Fō ic*, etc. Cf. *Vro unde Lazakere giengen fōld petretton* (= "went to

tread the earth") in *Strassburger Blutsegen* (*Denkm.* i, 18). — W. makes *funde* optative.

4. — *Eorðe mæg*, etc. The earth spirit is meant (cf. B 5, line 14).

6. — "Mighty man" may be a flattering designation of the sorcerer who is held responsible for the swarming (cf. charac. 4, pp. 115 ff.).

7. — C. adds and *wið on* to line 6, and translates "and against displeasure." Z. *wiðon*, *wiððon* (= *dagegen*). W. suggests *Wið ðon þonne* (or *þæt*) *hī swirman, forweorþ ofer grēot and cweð*.

8. — *Sitte gē, sigewif*. Cf. *sizi, sizi, bīna*, in *Lorscher Bienensegen*. — *Sigewif* was an appellation of the Valkyries, and is probably used here with the idea of mollifying or conciliating the rebellious spirit of the bees. Perhaps there was also an idea of the bees being "servants of Woden," for we find them called "*ancillæ dei*" in a Latin charm (*Anal. Græc.* No. 2). Kögel thinks *sigewif* a title like that in "Lady bird, lady bird, fly away home."

9. — *Næfre gē*, etc. Cf. *Zi holce ne fluc du*, in *Lorscher Bienensegen*.

A 5

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 136 b.

Editions. — C. iii, 10; L. 125.

Translations. — C. iii, 11; *Eng. Med.* 122.

Worms in men and beasts were regarded as elfish demons (see Grimm, ii, 668; and Kuhn, 135). In *Sal and Sat.*, line 305, we read of demons that

"Hwīlum flotan grīpað,  
hwīlum hīe gewendað on wyrmes lic  
scearpes and sticoles, stingað nýten,  
. . . feoh gestrūdað."

Spells against worms abound in the several Indo-European languages. In Hindu, Teutonic, and Slavic spells alike, the worms are described as having definite colors, — chiefly black, white, red, — and males and females are separately mentioned as in the AS. charm. Thus the worm spell in *AV.* ii, 23, speaks of

"All the worms that are male and all that are female,  
Their heads will I cleave with a stone, their jaws will I burn with fire."

Other Hindu worm spells in *AV.* ii, 31 and 32. Cf. also the OHG. incantation *Contra Vermes* (*Denkm.* i, 17); the AS. charm remedies EE 17 and EE 22; the charms in Grimm, ii, 1032; and iii, 500; and those in *Denkm.* i, 181.

4. — Lines 4–8 form a jingle charm (see Group A, II (a), pp. 125 ff.). Owing to the effort which these jingles imposed on the memory, they doubtless suffered from successive transmissions. The following rearrangement is suggested as more closely resembling the characteristics of the jingle charm: —

"Gonomil, orgomil, marbumil,  
tofeð tengo marbsairamum,  
biran duill docuillo,  
cuiðar cæfmīl marbsiraramum,  
scuiht cuib, scuiht cuillo."

This jingle is referred to in BB 4 as the "worm charm."

11. — *Spātūle*. For spitting as a charm procedure, see Crombie, 249; and cf. charac. 10, p. 122.

## A 6

MS. — Harley 585, p. 178 a.

Editions. — C. iii, 58; L. 145.

Translation. — C. iii, 59.

A jingle charm (cf. pp. 125 ff.).

## A 7

MS. — Harley 585, p. 182 a.

Editions. — C. iii, 62; L. 148.

Translation. — C. iii, 63.

Also a jingle charm (cf. Group A, II (a), p. 125).

## A 8

MS. — Cotton Faustina A x, p. 116 a.

Edition. — C. iii, 294.

3. — A very similar jingle is found in B 6 (see notes to that charm; cf. also the gibberish formula in D 10, an amulet charm).

## A 9

MS. — Harley 585, p. 182 a.

Editions. — K. i, 528; C. iii, 62; L. 147.

Translations. — C. iii, 63; *Eng. Med.* 136.

Criticism. — *Eng. Med.* 136.

Analysis. — See p. 127. The spell really constitutes a "command" formula (see charac. 4, p. 112). *Noðþe* is apparently the demon whose nine sisters are blamed for the disease. The name may be a corrupt form of a word which originally designated the scrofulous glands which the charm is to cure. Marcellus (xv, 102) has a similar spell for "glands:" *novem glandulæ sorores, octo glandulæ sorores*, etc., down to *una glandula soror*, and ending with *nulla fit glandula*. In the OS. *Segen "Contra Vermes"* (*Denkm.* i, 17), we read, "Go out *nesso*, with your nine young ones." A Russian spell mentions nine sisters who plague mankind with fevers (see Grimm, ii, 966). Nine was a favorite number in Germanic folk-lore (cf. charac. 10, p. 122; also cf. the nine Valkyries, our modern "nine days' wonder," etc.).

Charm A 9 has been preserved in several modern English versions, among others in the following Cornish jingle, —

*Charm for a Tetter*

"Tetter, tetter, thou hast nine brothers,  
God bless the flesh and preserve the bone,  
Perish thou tetter and be thou gone.  
In the name, etc.

Tetter, tetter, thou hast eight brothers," —

and so on, till Tetter, having no brother, is imperatively ordered to be gone (see Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England* [London, 1896], 414).

10. — *Tō nānum*. Cf. A 3, line 13.

11. — *Weormes* instead of *wurmes* (see Sievers in *P. B. B.* ix, 202).

## A 10

MS. — Harley 585, p. 135 b.

Editions. — C. iii, 8; L. 124.

*Translations.* — C. iii, 9; *Eng. Med.* 120.

*Criticism.* — *Eng. Med.* 120.

The superstition that toothache was caused by worms gnawing at the teeth, was a widespread one (see Flemish, German, and Hindu charms in Kuhn, 145 ff.; and Middle and Modern English charms in *F. L. S.*, *passim*). Shakespeare refers to the belief in *Much Ado*, III, ii, 26.

“*D. Pedro.* What! Sigh for the toothache?

*Leon.* Where is but a humor or a worm.”

In Madagascar the sufferer from toothache is said to be *maràry olitra* (“poorly through the worm”) (see *Folk-Lore Record*, ii, 36). In Manx, toothache is *Beishtyn*, the plural form of *Beishi* (= “a beast”) (Kelly, *Manx Dictionary*); and in Gaelic, *cnuimh* (“a worm”) forms half the name of toothache, which is *cnuimh jhiacall* (McLeod and Dewar, *Gaelic Dictionary*). For worms as demons, see notes to A 5. Toothache is attributed to a devil in AA 4.

2. — *Caio laio*, etc. One may suppose that a monkish hand added a formula from a Latin charm to the original OE. spell. Through successive transcriptions the changed formula grew unintelligible. *Caio laio* probably stands for *Gaio Seio*, used in Latin charms for “a certain person,” as we say, “A or B” (see *Eng. Med.* 120).

3. — *Nemne*, etc. Cf. charac. 6, p. 117. — *Lilumenne*. Probably the name of some spirit here appealed to, perhaps simply a mystic word (cf. characs. 2 and 3, pp. 112 ff.).

4. — *Cōliað*. An Anglian form (cf. Sievers, ¶ 412, Anm. 5).

#### A 11

*MS.* — Harley 585, p. 186 a.

*Editions.* — K. i, 529; C. iii, 70; L. 150.

*Translation.* — C. iii, 71.

*Analysis.* — Lines 1-4 state the ceremonial directions; lines 5-7, the incantation. The latter is a rhythmical but unintelligible mixture of liturgical Latin and gibberish. Another charm against erysipelas is AA 6; it is devoid of the superstitious ritual of A 11 and A 12.

4. — *Ongēan strēam*. Cf. *mid þām strēame* in E 13, line 3. In both cases the object is to get the force of the running water to assist in driving away disease (see charac. 10, p. 121).

6. — *Crux mihi*, etc. See pp. 147 ff. The same formula is found in A 19.

#### A 12

*MS.* — Harley 585, p. 186 b.

*Editions.* — K. i, 530; C. iii, 70; L. 150.

*Translation.* — C. iii, 71.

Cf. notes to A 11.

2. — *Bestric hine*, etc. See charac. 10, p. 121.

#### A 13

*MSS.* — Cotton Caligula A vii, p. 171 a; Bodley Junius, 85, p. 103.

*Editions.* — N. 147; T. 116; G. ii, 1033; K. i, 531; Kl. i, 251; E. 300; R. 143; C. i, 398; RT. 148; WA. 30; W. i, 312.

*Translations.* — *English*: C. i, 399; Stallybrass, iii, 1236; Brooke, 157; Gum. 405; Cook and Tinker, 164. — *German*: G. ii, 1034.



*Criticisms.* — G. ii, 1034; WG. 348 ff.; Brooke, 157; Gum. 406.

*Analysis.* — This charm contains incantations and ceremonial instructions intended to drive away the demons or sorcerers whose activities have caused a farm-land to become barren. For an analysis of the piece, see pp. 155 ff. The ceremonies for "releasing" the bewitched fields were probably akin to ancient ceremonies in honor of the earth goddess, who alone could bestow bountiful crops (see Mannhardt, 158, 317, and 553 ff.; and Pfannenschmid, 50 ff. and 84 ff. In 936, a German abbess established ceremonies to take the place of the former "heathen processions about the fields" (Pfannenschmid, 50). For a restored ritual to insure fruitfulness during the ensuing year, see Chantepie, 375 ff.

4. — *Tyrj.* For various symbolic uses of turf, see RA. 118 ff.

7. — Hard woods like the beech and oak did not need sanctification. Cf. "Only of soft wood, not hard" (RA. 506).

11. — *Crescite*, etc. See Gen. i, 28, and pp. 147 ff.

27. — *Eastward*, etc. There is reason to believe that this incantation was originally a prayer to the sun god, with incidental invocations to the spirits of the earth and of the heavenly vault. Line 30 clearly indicates a belief in the two latter divinities. With regard to the worship of the sun god, the direction in line 40 — "Turn thrice with the course of the sun" — lends color to my assumption. A sun cult seems to have existed among almost all nations living in cold or temperate climates (see Grimm, i, 25, and ii, 587), and there was a well-nigh universal doctrine that sunrise was fatal to evil spirits of every kind (see Gum. 411; and P. C. ii, 287).

30. — *Ūpheofon*. Cf. *uphimil* in *Heliland*, 88, 15. For the cult of the over-arching sky, see P. C. i, 322 ff.

40. — *III*. Here and in lines 43 and 82 the numeral = *þriwa*.

48. — *Gegaderie*, etc. For customs connected with hallowing the plough, see Mannhardt, 563. Apropos of the antiquity of such customs is an old Hindu ceremony once common in Lahore. "The zamindárs go to their fields with seven leaves of the akh, which they place on the harrow, and on the leaves some parched rice and sugar, and then burn incense" (*Roman-Urdú Journal*, Lahore, 1880, iii, 11).

52. — *Erce*, *erce*, *erce*. Probably an incantatory phrase like *acra*, *ærcra*, *ærnem*, in A 17 and in B 7, the meaning of which, if it ever had any, has been lost. Grimm (i, 210 ff.) considers *Erce* a feminine divinity, who, like Holda or Bertha, presides over tilling. See also ZjdA. v, 377 ff.; Simrock, 382; and Mannhardt, 298. — *Eor þan mōdor*. Cf. "mother earth," in a Vedic spell (AV. i, 370.2).

56. — *Scīra hersewæstma*. The MS. reading is meaningless. The text follows the emendation of Sch. xxx, 126. Schlutter believes that MS. *hense* stands for *herse* = OHG. *hirsī*. This seems more plausible than any other suggested reading.

73. — For sacrificial offerings in field and harvest customs, see Gum. 455. Doubtless the heaping of things on the turf was to symbolize the desired fruitfulness.

A 14

MS. — Corpus Christi 41, p. 350.

*Editions.* — WA. 115; G. iii, 493; E. 303; C. i, 388; W. i, 328, and ii, 202; Sch. xxxi, 59.

*Translations.* — C. i, 389; Brooke, 474; Sch. xxxi, 61.

*Criticism.* — Sch. xxxi, 57 ff.

*Analysis.* — The charm is for protection against many evils, and is supposed to be recited by one about to start on a journey. The piece is paralleled by numerous German *Reisesege*n, among the most important of which are *Tobiassege*n (*Denkm.* i, 183); *Engelberger Segen* (Grimm, iii, 493); *Münchner Ausfahrtsege*n (*Denkm.* i, 182); *Weingartner Segen* (*Denkm.* i, 18); "*Ein Segen*" (see A. E. Schönbach in *ZfdA.* xxix, 348). In the *Tobiassege*n, the angelic host, the twelve apostles, the four evangelists, St. Mary, St. Stephen, Abraham, David, etc., are invoked for the same purposes, and with much the same expressions as in our spell. All the travel charms are stamped with a decidedly Christian character. The AS. piece alone retains marked Heathen traits in such typical incantatory phrases as *sygegealdor ic begale*; *windas gefrān*; *wordsiġe and worcsiġe*; and in repeated references to "frightful monsters," "nightmare-demons," "belly-fiends," etc.

4. — *Egsan*. Perhaps the plague-demon is meant.

13. — *Abrame*, etc. See p. 149. Sch. interpolates, "May [the Lord] preserve me in health as, according to Holy Scripture, the creator of heaven preserved" Abram, etc.

23. — *Hand*, etc. The passage is obscure. Can it refer to a lifting of the hand over the head, an attitude that might have traditionally accompanied certain prayers? Elevation of the hands while praying was common enough (see Grimm, i, 28 ff.). — *Rōf*. Sch. translates *zahl*.

25. — All Edd. end line 25 with *þæt mē bēo hand ofer heafod*, and begin line 26 with *Matheus helm*. The *hand ofer heafod* appears to me to be an accidental repetition of line 23. E. says that the phrase "e. versus 24 [here line 23], repetitum esse puto et hic delendum, ita ut: 'þæt mē bēo,' versum sequentem incipiat."

26. — *Marcus byrne*, etc. Cf. "*sancte Michahêl wis-tu sîn schilt und sîn sper . . . Maria sî sîn halsperge*" (hauberk, *Engelberger segen*, lines 1 ff.); and cf. "*Die hailig dryfjältigkait sy mir ain mantel für all min fiend*," "*Das hailig crütz sy min schilt*" (from *Ein Kreuzsege*n, ed. A. E. Schönbach in *ZfdA.* xxxiii, 393).

29. — *Seraphin*. E. says, "*Johannem vega Seraphin i. e. viarum tutor*." C. translates, "Ye Seraphim, guardians of the ways," as one sentence. The meaning is, of course, that John is the guardian saint of travellers.

32. — E. suggests these changes: "*sîðfates gōdes, smiltra and lyhtra vinda varoðum, þæt ic vindas gefrān, cirrendu vater cymlicu hæleðe við eallum jeorðum, frēond*."

33. — *Windas gefrān*. Cf. *Ic āna wāt ēa* (B 4, line 58).

40. — C. translates, "and in the holy hand of the mighty one of heaven."

#### A 15

*MSS.* — Cotton Julius C ii, p. 97 b; Textus Roffensis, p. 50. — *Part I only*: Cotton Tiberius A iii, p. 103; Corpus Christi 190 (=A in textual notes), p. 130; Harley 438, p. 138 b. — *Part II only*: Corpus Christi 383 (=B in textual notes), p. 89.

*Editions.* — C. iii, 286; M. in *M. L. N.* xxi, 180. — *Part I only*: G<sup>4</sup>. iii, 493. — *Part II only*: Thorpe in *A. L.* 78; Leo, 56; Sd. 408; Li. i, 400.

*Translations.* — C. iii, 287. *Part II only*: Thorpe, 78; Leo, 57; Sd. 409; Li. i, 401.

*Criticisms.* — McBryde in *M. L. N.* xxi, 180 ff.; Sd. lxviii.

*Analysis.* — The piece is in two parts. Part I constitutes the actual charm for the recovery of the stolen property; Part II is a legal formula in which the rightful owner solemnly sets forth his title to the possessions in question. This rhythmical composition is printed separately in the various editions of the AS. laws. It was attached to Part I probably because it was recited as a sort of oath by the person who claimed goods which were recovered from thieves, or which were in disputed ownership. — Farmers were greatly bothered by cattle-thefts in AS. times; so much so, that cattle-stealing became as grave a crime as horse-stealing used to be in the West. The OE. laws consequently required witnesses to the transfer of such property, and invented a "team." "That is," says Cockayne (ii, xiv ff.), "when Z, who had lost oxen, claimed cattle in A's possession, A was bound by oath and by witnesses to show that he had them lawfully from B; B had to go through the same process and show that he received them honestly from C; thus a row of successive owners was revealed, ending in P, who had neglected to secure credible witnesses to his bargain, or in Q, who had bought them from the actual thief." On the other hand, B might, by oath and by witnesses, prove that the cattle had come to him rightfully as a bequest.

Part I has two divisions: *A* (lines 1-5), the ceremonial directions; *B* (lines 6-11), the charm formula. The charm formula has three *motifs* (see p. 158): (1) finding of the cross of Christ; (2) threat formula, "Abraham, Job," etc. (see charac. 4, pp. 115 ff.); (3) crucifixion of Christ by the Jews. These *motifs* express a sympathetic parallel between the similes and the desired results respectively of recovering the property, of frustrating the escape of the thieves, and of exposing the theft (see charac. 9, p. 119). *Motif* (3) is found in all four cattle charms; (1) is in A 21 and in A 22; (2) is not, as McBryde (182) declares, a distinct charm loosely strung together with other charms to form the complex A 15. Often several themes, each paralleling a desired end, were introduced in one spell (see, further, p. 158, note 4). English and German variants of this charm are printed by McBryde (182).

There are five AS. cattle charms: A 15, A 16, A 21, A 22, and AA 3. In the last-named, the superstitious directions are like those in A 15, but the formula is simply an enumeration of several saintly names.

#### PART I

8. — *Crux Christi*, etc. In MS. Cambridge Corpus Christi 41, p. 207, Mr. McBryde found a formula composed of *motifs* (1) and (2), the latter greatly amplified (see *M. L. N.* xxi, 180). Of this formula he says, "A fragment of this charm appears in Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology* (Stallybrass, iv, 1849)." He then quotes the "fragment." But the latter is simply theme (2) of Part I, A 15; and the entire part is printed in Grimm, iii, 493.

#### PART II

12. — *Becwæð and becwæl*. This enumeration in alliterative pairs is a feature of Part II, and is present in many charms (see Ebermann, 53 ff., and cf. A 16 and B 5).

14. — *Fēore*. Lieberman translates, *Naturalienabgabe* (= "[payment with] natural products").

20. — *Ðē myntan* instead of *ðæt yntan*. The first makes better sense, and receives warrant from line 34. C. translates, "and never will impair." — *Plōh*; namely, a plough of land.

A 16

MS. — Corpus Christi 41, p. 226.

Editions. — WA. 114; C. i, 384; G<sup>4</sup>. iii, 492; W. i, 325.

Translation. — C. i, 385.

Analysis. — In this charm, lines 1-5 are in prose, are distinctly Christian, and contain three parallel themes: (1) the slaughter of the Innocents; (2) St. Helena and the finding of the Cross; (3) the crucifixion of Christ (see p. 158). Lines 6-19 are much more Heathen in tone, as is clearly shown by the rhythmical formula, the invocation to Garmund, the enumeration by alliterative pairs, the threats against the mischief-working sorcerer or demon (lines 13 ff.), and the similes in lines 16 and 17 (see p. 119).

8. — *Garmund*. Cf. charac. 4, pp. 115 ff.

16. — *Binnan*, etc. See charac. 5, p. 117.

A 17

MS. — Harley 585, p. 136 a.

Editions. — C. iii, 8; L. 125.

Translation. — C. iii, 9.

See substitution of Christian for Pagan ritual (pp. 149 ff.). — The formula lines 3-13 is a jingle charm (Group A, II (a), p. 125), in which many words recall the gibberish spells in B 7 and BB 4.

3. — C. and L. write the jingle in prose form.

14. — *Querite*, etc. See Matt. vii, 7.

15. — *Non amplius . . . arescas*. A formula found in several OHG. spells (e. g. *Denkm.* i, 18, No. 7; see also *Denkm.* ii, 54, and *Münchener Sitzungsberichte*, 1870, i, 518). — *Super aspidem*, etc. See Ps. xci, 13.

A 18

MS. — Regius 12, D xvii, p. 53 a.

Editions. — C. ii, 140; L. 42.

Translations. — C. ii, 141; *Eng. Med.* 121.

The four gossellers and St. Veronica are invoked in company with the idols Tiecon and Leleloth.

*Lenctenädle* (= "spring fever" = "ague"). See *Eng. Med.* 121.

1. — *Hramgealla* (= "ram-gall" = "Menyanthes"). See *Eng. Med.* 121.

8. — *Tiecon, Leleloth*. Arabian divinities (see Cockayne, ii, 141, note 3).

11. — *Beronice* (= Veronica). The maiden who handed her handkerchief to Jesus on His way to Calvary (see type 10, p. 158). The legend also forms part of charms A 24, D 8, D 9, and D 10. — *Et habet*, etc. From Rev. xix, 16.

15. — These mystic letters may have been substituted for earlier runes (see p. 124, note 6). The same symbols are recommended as an amulet remedy for the same illness (see D 4).

A 19

MS. — Harley 585, p. 181 b.

Editions. — C. iii, 62; L. 147.

Translation. — C. iii, 63.

1. — *Gewræht* belongs to *wreccan*, *wreahste*, and here means "foundered," the term used for a horse which has gone lame. Cf. *ræhe* (= *gliedersteif*) in the charm "*Ad equos sanandos ræhin*" (*Denkm.* ii, 302); cf. also the OHG. spells "*Contra ræhin*" and "*Ad equum errehet*," in *Denkm.* ii, 303; and see numerous German charms for similiar equine sicknesses cited there.

2. — *Naborrede*. C. says, "This seems to be the Nabonnedus of Berosus, in whose reign Babylon was taken by Cyrus." Nabonidus (556-538 B. C.) was the last king of Babylonia.

3. — *Crux mihi*. Cf. A 11, line 6.

#### A 20

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 116 a.

Editions. — C. ii, 322; L. 98.

Translation. — C. ii, 323.

See replacement of Pagan by Christian formulas (pp. 149 ff.).

1. — *Liðwærce* (possibly "rheumatism"). See note to line 3, below.

2. — *Spāil*. See charac. 10, p. 122.

3. — *Malignus*, etc. A similar formula is found in AA 8: "*Ad articulorum dolorum malignantium*." Only the first line of the formula differs, reading "*diabolus ligavit*." Another triplet of this kind is found in a charm for fever: "*Christus tonat, angelus nunciat, Johannes predicat*" (see F. Holthausen, *Rezepte*, in *Angl.* xix, 78).

#### A 21

MS. — Corpus Christi 41, p. 216.

Editions. — WA. 114; C. i, 390; G<sup>4</sup>. iii, 493; W. i, 324.

Translations. — C. i, 391; Brooke, 473.

Analysis. — This charm and A 22 differ from cattle spells A 15 and A 16 in the absence of Heathen features (see third class of spells, p. 156). — There are three parallel themes: (1) the fame of Bethlehem; (2) the loss and recovery of the cross; (3) the crucifixion of Christ (see types 8, 9, and 7 respectively, p. 158).

3. — *Bethlem*, etc. See charac. 1, p. 110. The same formula is found in AA 18.

9. — *Crux*, etc. See charac. 9, p. 119.

#### A 22

MS. — Harley 585, p. 180 b.

Editions. — C. iii, 61; W. i, 323.

Translations. — C. iii, 61; Cook and Tinker, 171.

Analysis. — A 22 is a slightly different version of A 21, and contains the same themes. In both charms the ceremonial is Christian, and the formulas are drawn from the Bible or from Christian legend (see pp. 147 ff.).

#### A 23

MS. — Bodley Junius 85, p. 17.

Edition. — C. i, 394.

Translation. — C. i, 394, note 1.

For the corrections in lines 1 and 5 of the text, I am indebted to Mr. J. M.

McBryde Jr.'s transcription of the MS. — See Group E, pp. 136 ff., for “spells against the Devil.”

1. — *Writ ymb*, etc. See charac. 10, p. 121.
3. — *Fuge, diabolus*, etc. A threat formula (see Christian substitutions, p. 149; and charac. 4, pp. 115 ff.).
5. — *III.* = *priwa*. Cf. A 13, line 40.

A 24

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 24.

Editions. — C. ii, 348; L. 106.

Translation. — C. ii, 349.

*Criticism.* — A short criticism of this charm is on p. 156. There are four formulas: two are sung over herbal drinks (namely, *Scriptum est*, etc. [line 12], and *Deus*, etc. [line 30]); two are recited over the patient (namely, *Deus*, etc. [line 16], and *Signum*, etc. [line 35]).

12. — *Byrnice*. The Veronica theme (see type 10, p. 158).

16. — *Deus*, etc., is the principal formula in the charm.

17. — *Nomen*. Here the name of the patient is to be pronounced (see charac. 6, p. 117).

18. — *Castalides* (= *dūn elfen*). Elves of the down (Somner's *Glossaries in Dictionary Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum*, Oxford, 1659). — *De capite*, etc. This detailed enumeration is typical of charm-writings of Celtic origin (see F. J. Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, p. 369; and see the *Lorica* of Gilda; cf. p. 159, note 8).

27. — *III.* = *priwa*. Cf. A 13, line 40; and A 23, line 5.

B 1

MSS. — Cotton Vitellius C. iii (= V in textual notes), p. 68 a; Harley 6258 b (= O), p. 32 a; Hatton 76 (= B); Harley 585 (= H).

Editions. — C. i, 312; Be. 118.

Translation. — C. i, 313.

Cockayne's text is based on MS. V with readings from the other MSS. Berberich's text is taken from MS. O.

*Analysis.* — See analysis of B charms, p. 128. — The formula, lines 8–11, is apparently taken bodily from the *Herbarium* of Apuleius. — The heading “*Priapissi uica peruica*” is found in MS. O, at the end of the piece, and is followed by the words “*Satureon id est angllice hrefenes leac*” (see Berberich, 118, note). — In the margin of MS. O. (p. 32 a) are the words “*ad demoniacos, ad morsum serpentis feras uenenum odium iracundiam ut habeas gratiam felix sis placens*.” — BB 12, “For a Flux of Blood,” is similar to B 1 in form and content.

1. — *Vica peruica* = the periwinkle. See “Herbs,” Group D, p. 132.

3. — *Dēofolsēocnyssa*. See Group E, pp. 136 ff.

17. — *Clāne*. See charac. 10, p. 121.

B 2

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 57 a.

Editions. — Kl. i, 249; C. ii, 154; G<sup>4</sup>. ii, 1014; H. 47; L. 46.

Translations. — C. ii, 155; *Eng. Med.* 116; H. 49.

See analysis of Group B, p. 128.

1. — *Mucgwyrt*. See "Herbs," Group D, p. 132. For numerous superstitious uses of mugwort (*Artemisia*), see Cockayne, i, 102, xi; and i, 106, xiii; Grimm, ii, 1014; and Hoops, 48.

## B 3

*MS.* — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 123 b.

*Editions.* — C. ii, 346; H. 53; L. 105.

*Translations.* — C. ii, 347; *Eng. Med.* 117; H. 53; Fischer, 33.

Elf-disease = bewitchment by elves. The disease was generally the same as nightmare (see Group E, pp. 136 ff.). — The ceremonial points to Heathenism (but see Grimm, ii, 1002 ff.), while the formulas are distinctly Christian. — See BB 14, for an elaborate ritual in the cure of elf-disease; also cf. EE 9 for the same disease. See law against gathering herbs, No. 3, p. 140.

1. — *Punresāfen*. Thursday was a day for special observances among the early Germans (see Grimm, i, 159).

4. — *Dæg . . . scāde*. That is, at dawn.

14. — *Gloria*, etc. From Luke ii, 14.

15. — *Ymbwrit*, etc. See charac. 10, p. 121. — *IIII*. Cockayne and *Eng. Med.* translate, "on three sides."

## B 4

*MS.* — Harley 585, p. 160 a.

*Editions.* — C. iii, 30; WA. 34; W. i, 320; H. 56; L. 137 (lines 62-70 only).

*Translations.* — C. iii, 31; Brooke, 471; Cook and Tinker, 169; *Eng. Med.* 138; H. 57.

*Criticisms.* — WG. 351 ff.; Hoops, 56 ff.; Bradley, 144 ff.; *Eng. Med.* 137 ff.

*Analysis.* — The antiquity of the charm is attested by the plant-worship pointed to, the superstitious lore revealed, and the epic passages introduced. Judging from the obscurity of certain passages, the obvious misplacement of line 30, and the probable misplacement of other lines, such as 41-44, the piece must have passed through several hands. That it certainly underwent a Christian censorship is evident from lines 37-40, and from lines 46 and 57 respectively. — Four epic passages appear (see charac. 1, p. 110): namely, (1) lines 7-10; (2) line 28; (3) lines 31-33, citing an exploit of Woden; (4) lines 37-40, probably a Christian interpolation. — The nine plants are mentioned in the following order: (1) *mucgwyrt*, lines 1-6; (2) *wegbrāde*, lines 7-13; (3) *stīme*, lines 14-20; (4) *āttorlāðe*, lines 21-22; (5) *mægðe*, lines 23-26; (6) *wergulu*, lines 27-29; (7) *æppel*, lines 31-35; (8) *fille* and (9) *finul*, both lines 36-40. They are again enumerated (lines 62-63) in the order (1) *mucgwyrt*, (2) *wegbrāde*, (3) *lombes cyrse*, (4) *āttorlāðe*, (5) *mægðe*, (6) *netele*, (7) *wudusūr-æppel*, (8) *fille*, (9) *finul*. The second order agrees with the first except in Nos. 3 and 6. *Stīme* and *wergulu* in the first list are *lombes cyrse* and *netele* respectively in the second. *Stīme* and *wergulu* are not elsewhere found: they may be by-names or poetic names of *lombescyrse* and *netele* (cf. *Una*, line 3, a by-name of *mucgwyrt*), or merely older names of the same plants, obsolete or obsolescent when the prose passage (lines 62-70) was written. (But cf. *wergulu*, in note to line 27.) Other Edd. arrange as follows: —

C.		W.		H. AND BRADLEY	
	<i>Lines.</i>		<i>Lines.</i>		<i>Lines.</i>
1. <i>mucgwyrt</i>	(1-6).	<i>mucgwyrt</i>	(1-6).	<i>mucgwyrt</i>	(1-6).
2. <i>wegbræde</i>	(7-13).	<i>wegbræde</i>	(7-13).	<i>wegbræde</i>	(7-13).
3. <i>stīme</i>	(14-17).	<i>stīme</i>	(14-15).	<i>stīme</i>	(14-17).
4. <i>ǣttorlāðe</i>	(18-20).	<i>stīde</i>	(16-20).	<i>ǣttorlāðe</i>	(18-22).
5. "blind nettle"	(21-22).	<i>ǣttorlāðe</i>	(21-22).	<i>mægðe</i>	(23-26).
6. <i>mægðe</i>	(23-26).	<i>mægðe</i>	(23-26).	<i>wergulu</i>	(27-29).
7. <i>wergulu</i>	(27-35).	<i>wergulu</i>	(27-29).	<i>æppel</i>	(31-35).
8. <i>finle</i> }	(36-40).	<i>finle</i> }	(36-40).	<i>finle</i> }	(36-40).
9. <i>finul</i> }		<i>finul</i> }		<i>finul</i> }	

For lines 41-44, see note to line 41. — C. and W. both omit *æppel* from their lists, and have an arrangement different from that in the prose enumeration (lines 62-64). C. (iii, 35, note a) makes lines 21-22 refer to "blind nettle," despite the fact that line 21 clearly states *ǣttorlāðe*. W. (i, 321, note to 18) says, "C. has only eight herbs," and himself makes *stīde* (line 16) the name of another herb. I have substantially the same arrangement as Hoops and Bradley, but prefer to ascribe lines 18-20 to *stīme*, because the expression *þām lāðan ðe*, etc., in line 20, concludes the description of two other herbs, — viz., *wegbræde* and *mucgwyrt*, — and because the first line in the passage about each herb (except apple) will then contain the name of the herb. If the "apple" passage began with a line naming the apple, this line would come where line 30 now stands. It is probable that such a line existed and was lost, not only because the apple alone, of all the nine herbs, is not directly introduced, but because line 30 is palpably out of place. — For a survival in modern German folk-lore, of superstitions connected with nine herbs, see *WG.* 351.

2. — *Regenmelde*, like *Alorforda*, line 24, is the name of a place. The translators have: C., *prime telling*; Cook and Tinker, *great proclamation*; H., *solemn proclamation*. Bradley says "*Rægnmæld* occurs as a Northumbrian female personal name. This spelling (pointing to an umlaut *e*) suggests that *meld* may be a metathetic derivative of *mæðel*. If so, the compound would be synonymous with the Old Norse *reginþing*, which is found (apparently as a mythic place-name) in the *Helgakviða*."

4. — This line is repeated in line 42. The meaning is probably "You will avail against three and thirty evil spirits." The multiples of 11 up to 100 were continually used by Teutonic and Hindu sorcerers (see Kuhn in *ZfVS.* xiii, 128 ff.). The number 33 was an especial favorite in Sanskrit writings: the gods number 33 (see *RV.* i, 34.11); other instances in the *Rig-Veda*, of the mention of 33 in connection with charm-practices, are: *RV.* i, 45, 2; iii, 6, 9; viii, 28, 1; xxx, 2; xxxv, 3; xxxix, 9.

6. — The line recurs twice: 13 and 20. In lines 6 and 20 the MS. reading is *þā lāþan*. C. takes *farþ* as plural; but this word and *fereþ* (line 20) are plainly singular. One might accept W.'s explanation that *þā lāþan* is accusative singular feminine, but line 13 has *þæm*. More plausible is Hoops' (56) suggestion that the *m* in lines 6 and 20 was omitted from *þām lāþan*, which might be masculine or neuter. Cf. also *þām lāþan*, A 14, line 37.

8. — *Ēastan openo*. Cf. line 62.

9. — *Curran*. Preterite of *ceorran*.

10. — *Bryodedon* < *breodian*.

14. — *Stīme* or *stūne*. The MS. is not clear.



21. — The passage about the betony is quite unintelligible.

25. — *Feorh*. The life of any sufferer for whose benefit the herbs are culled.

27. — *Wergulu*. As stated above, the word is probably synonymous with *neteie*: the dictionary meaning, "crab-apple," derived from Cockayne, is therefore wrong. Bradley believes Toller to be right in regarding *wergulu* as the feminine of an adjective which appears in the derivative *wærgolnys* ("maledictio"). This etymology gives some basis to the meaning "nettle."

30. — *Ongan*. Bradley suggests that *onge* or *onga* is equivalent to ON. *anga* ("sprout, shoot").

31. — Cf. the Woden episode (lines 31-33) with —

"To fight the serpent, Odin's son goes forth,  
And in his wrath Midgard's protector slays."

*Völuspá*, 55 and 56.

Reptiles were frequently credited with producing poisons. According to *Sal. and Sat.* 421 ff., all poisons originally sprang from the bodies of twenty-five serpents whom the bold seafarer, *weallende Wulf*, slew at the cost of his own life.

34. — *Nædran ættor*. The MS. and the Edd. readings are very unsatisfactory. H. and Bradley both translate, "Apple and poison brought about that she [the adder] nevermore would enter house." This makes no sense, while the substitution of *nædran* for *ættor* gives a reading in accordance with the context. Lines 31-35 comprise the "apple" passage; lines 31-33 form the epic introduction about Woden, and the serpent which has slain a man; next would come line 34, "There the apple put an end to the serpent's poison."

35. — *ƿæt hēo*, etc. W. assumes a gap between lines 34 and 35, because "hēo can refer neither to *æppel* nor to *ættor*." *Hēo* of course refers to *nædran* (line 33) in the MS. reading.

37. — For lines 37-40, see p. 154.

38. — *Hongode* (= *hongode on rōde*). Cf. *þā þā Crīst hangode on rōde* (Ælfric, *Homilies*, ii, 240, 22).

41. — *Hēo* cannot refer to *fille and finule*. Lines 41-44 may belong to the *wergulu* or to the *æppel* passage.

43. — W. reads, *wið ƿeondes hond and wið þæs ƿāgan hond* in one line, and *wið ƿrea begde* in the second half of the next line. Here *ƿāgan* is inserted by W., who also assumes the first half of the second line to be missing. Bradley suggested the omission of the second *wið þæs hond*, and the change of the obscure *ƿrea begde* into *ƿær-bregde*, a compound formed in analogy with *ƿær-searo*, etc.

44. — *Minra*. C., *minra* = "my;" H., *minra* = "little;" Bradley, *mānra* = "wicked." B.'s emendation is scarcely necessary, since *min* (= "vile") will fit the context.

45. — *Wuldorgeflogenum* = "spirits fled from glory;" that is, evil spirits or disease-demons.

47. — *Runlan*. One would expect the name of a color. Cook and Tinker translate "gray," but the reason is not apparent.

48. — *Wēdenan āttre* appears again to complete line 51.

52. — *Wyrmeblād* = "illness caused by worms." *Watergeblād* = "water-pustule."

53. — *ƿorngelblād* = "prickly sore." The *þysgeblād* of the MS. probably arose from confusing *þystelgeblād* with the following *ysgeblād*.

55. — W. and H. both attribute to accident the omission of "south" from the enumeration; but it is to be noted that the six "blisters," plus the three infections from east, north, and west, make nine, corresponding to the nine *onflygnum* of line 45. The six "blisters," too, must have been regarded as of contagious origin, if *onflygnum* is correctly translated "infectious disease."

57. — *Crīst*, etc. See p. 154.

58. — *Ic āna*, etc. (lines 58–61). See charac. 5, p. 117. Supply "of it" (that is, "of the running water") after *behealdað*. H. supplies "of me," which is also possible.

65. — *Gor* = "dirt, filth;" but the context requires "juice."

68. — *Hē*, etc. A ceremonial direction to the exorcist (see charac. 6, p. 117).

B 5

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 125 a.

Editions. — G. ii, 1193; C. ii, 350; L. 107.

Translations. — C. ii, 351; Brooke, 138.

Analysis. — See analysis of B Charms, p. 128. — There are two alliterative formulas: (1) lines 8–13, (2) lines 14–15. Both formulas are characterized by alliterative pairs: *ne burnon, ne burston*; *ne fundian ne feologan*; etc. (cf. Ebermann, 53; A 15 and A 16).

5. — *Fel terre* = *fel terræ* = *eorð-gealla*. Cf. C. iii, 72: "*felterran sæd, þæt is, eorðgeallan*."

6. — *Dō*, etc. See Christian tags to Heathen spells (p. 154).

8. — The passage, lines 8–13, exemplifies charac. 5 (see p. 117). — *Āwrāt* (from *āwriðan*) = "to wreath around." Healing amulets are wreathed around the wounds. Perhaps the sores are merely circumscribed with lines, a common method of expelling disease-fiends (see p. 121). — *Beadowræda* = "fighting wreaths;" hence "amulets."

12. — *Hālewæge* (= OHG. *heilawâc*, *heilwæge*) = "water drawn from a running stream in a holy season, before sunrise, in solemn silence." See Grimm, ii, 485 ff., and cf. charac. 10, pp. 120, 121.

13. — *Ne ace þē*, etc. The line is obscure. The sea, like running water, was regarded as a purifying agent. The meaning may then be, "If the sufferer keep the sacred spring-water, he will be as safe from disease-demons as is the land in the sea." For the simile, see p. 120.

14. — *Eorþe þē*, etc. An invocation to the earth spirit to crush the water-elf (see charac. 2, p. 112, and cf. A 4, line 4).

B 6

MS. — Harley 585, p. 186 a.

Editions. — C. iii, 68; L. 149.

Translation. — C. iii, 69.

Analysis. — See analysis of Group B, p. 128. — The two formulas, lines 1–8 and lines 11–13, are really jingle charms (see Group A, II (a), p. 124). The first jingle lines (1–8) is almost identical with the formula in A 8. By comparing line 7 in B 6 with line 9 in A 8, we shall get some idea of the process by which intelligible Anglo-Saxon was, through transcription or transmission, turned into gibberish. Of the phrase *æt þām drore*, etc., in A 8, nothing remains in B 6 but the two words *drore uhic*, with meaningless context; *ðulgedoþ*

(A 8, line 9) is obviously a compound, one of whose elements is the *dolge* (*dolg*="wound") which we find in B 6, line 7.

8. — *Alleluiah*. Cf. B 5, note to line 6.

## B 7

*MS.* — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 43 a.

*Editions.* — C. ii, 112; L. 35.

*Translations.* — C. ii, 113; *Eng. Med.* 123.

*Analysis.* — See analysis of B charms, p. 128. — The formula, lines 5–9, is plainly a rhythmical one of the jingle type (Group A, II (a), p. 124). Line 8 is found slightly varied in BB 4. Cf. also A 17.

1. — *Ætærnnum swile*="the bubonic plague," according to *Eng. Med.* 123.

2. — *Ånes blæos*. The color of an animal was an important consideration in Teutonic superstitious rites. Animals solely of one color were in great demand, and white and red were the favorite colors (see Grimm, i, 44). In two other AS. charms, BB 4 and E 1, the ceremonial calls for a cow of one color. A similar direction is found in other AS. remedies (see, for example, *Rezept e*, in A. Napier, "Altenglische Miscellen" [*Archiv*, lxxxiv, 326]). See also p. 122.

3. — *Lætania*. See interpolation of Christian formulas (pp. 140 ff.).

## C 1

*MS.* — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 28 b.

*Editions.* — C. ii, 76; L. 24.

*Translations.* — C. ii, 77; *Eng. Med.* 134.

*Analysis.* — See analysis of C charms, p. 129. Laws 10 and 11, p. 141, are against transference of disease. — A very similar charm is CC 2 (see translation on p. 131).

*Blæce*. *Eng. Med.* (134, note 1) has, "*Blæce* was some kind of skin disease. It is rendered in one glossary *vítilligo*, but it is also regarded as equivalent to *lepra* in the old sense, that is, the modern *psoriasis*."

6. — For the superstitions connected with silence, running water, and spitting, see charac. 10, pp. 120 ff.

## C 2

*MS.* — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 115 b.

*Editions.* — C. ii, 318; L. 97.

*Translation.* — C. ii, 319.

*Analysis.* — See analysis of Group C, p. 131, and also p. 129.

1. — *pū*, etc. See charac. 6, p. 117. — *Tordwifel* (=modern English *weevil*). Grimm (ii, 576) finds traces of a beetle-worship among the Teutons. Among the Scandinavians it was believed that the man who found a dung-beetle helpless on its back, atoned for seven sins if he set it on its feet.

## C 3

*MS.* — Harley 585, p. 174 b.

*Editions.* — C. iii, 52; L. 144.

*Translations.* — C. iii, 53; *Eng. Med.* 135.

*Analysis.* — See Group C, p. 131.

2. — *III*. = *priwa*. Cf. A 13, lines 40, 43, and 82; also A 23, line 5. C. and L. supply *sīðum* and *dagum*, respectively, after *III*.

4. — For the formula, lines 3–8, see pp. 151 ff.; and p. 152, note 1.

C 4

*MS.* — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 53 b.

*Editions.* — C. ii, 142; L. 43.

*Translation.* — C. ii, 143.

*Analysis.* — See Group C, p. 131; and see charac. 6, p. 117. A counterpart of this charm is CC 2, translated on p. 131.

1. — *Hunta*. Spiders were akin to dwarfs, hence the scarification around the wound to exclude demoniac influence (see Stallybrass, 1497).

5. — *Ymbūtan*. See charac. 10, p. 121.

6. — *Swigende*. See p. 121.

C 5

*MS.* — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 111 b.

*Editions.* — C. ii, 306; L. 94.

*Translation.* — C. ii, 307.

*Analysis.* — See Group C, p. 131. — The remedy involves the transference of the disease from the patient's eyes to the eyes of the crab. To make the transference effective, it was believed necessary to let the mutilated animal go alive. — Animals' eyes were frequently used to cure eye-diseases. In CC 1, a wolf's eye is prescribed as an amulet; similarly, in Cockayne, i, 370, 10, a dog's eye. So the powdered teeth of a dog are mixed in a drink for toothache (see Cockayne, i, 370. 11). This association of ideas between a remedial object and the seat or nature of the disease was known throughout the middle ages as the "doctrine of signatures," and resulted in the prescription, for example, of *euphrasy* (= "eyebright," there is the likeness of an eye in the flower) for diseases of the eye, and of "Jew's-ear" (a plant slightly resembling a human ear) for diseases of the ear. See also K. Weinhold, *Ein Hochdeutscher Augensegen in einer Hs. des 12ten Jahrhunderts*, in *ZfVh*. xi, 79-82 and 226.

D 1

*MS.* — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 52 b.

*Editions.* — C. ii, 140; L. 42.

*Translation.* — C. ii, 141.

*Analysis.* — An analysis of the D charms is found on p. 135.

1. — *Ride*. Literally, "if an incubus ride a man." The Low-German peasant says of the demon, *He het mi reden* ("he has ridden me"); the High-German says, *dich hât geriten der mar* ("the incubus has ridden you") (see Meyer, 132). The nightmare-fiend was believed literally to "ride" human beings and animals until they were exhausted, and even until they were dead (see Meyer, 128 ff.). The OHG. spell *contra rehin* is for an equine sickness caused by incubi (see *Denkm.* ii, 302). Sometimes witches in the form of succubæ were thought to "ride" men (see early Scandinavian laws against such practices, Hermann 73 and 567). So C. translates D 1: "If a mare or hag ride a man."

2. — *Rēcels*. Incense was of Christian origin (see Grimm, i, 47; and cf. the introducing of Christian ritual, pp. 148 ff.).

D 2

*MS.* — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 39 b.

*Editions.* — C. ii, 104; L. 32.

*Translations.* — C. ii, 105; *Eng. Med.* 132.

*Analysis.* — Perhaps the remedy includes a belief in the transference of the disease to the tusk (see Group C, pp. 129 ff.).

1. — *Cucum.* See note to C 5.

## D 3

*MS.* — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 122 b.

*Editions.* — C. ii, 342; L. 104.

*Translation.* — C. ii, 343.

*Analysis.* — See Group D, p. 135. — Other charms for the same trouble are D 4 and A 24.

1. — *Wyr̃t.* For the magic properties of herbs, see pp. 132 ff.

3. — *Dēofol.* On the Devil in charm remedies, see Group E, pp. 136 ff. — *Inne ne ūte.* Cf. *sēo dēah gehwæper ge þæs mannes sǣwle ge his lichoman*, in DD 15.

## D 4

*MS.* — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 111 b.

*Editions.* — C. ii, 306; L. 94.

*Translation.* — C. ii, 307.

*Analysis.* — See analysis of D charms, p. 135. — Stones from the stomach of young swallows are recommended as amulets in a Latin charm which Pliny (xi, 79) says is derived from the Magi. In *Evangeline*, lines 136–139, “the wondrous stone” found in swallows’ nests is mentioned. — Another headache charm (EE 18) is based on a sympathetic cure: the ashes of a dog’s burnt head are made into a salve. See the amulet cure (herbs tied with red thread) for headache, in Cockayne, ii, 307.

5. — *Nihtgengan.* These were the dreaded night-demons or incubi (cf. DD 15 and EE 8).

6. — *Wyr̃t-forbore.* See “knots,” Group E, p. 138; and cf. E 10, BB 13, and law No. 26, p. 142. — *Yflum gealdorcrãftum*; such as, for example, that mentioned in *Hǫvumǫl*, 150.

## D 5

*MS.* — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 108 a.

*Editions.* — C. ii, 296; L. 90.

*Translation.* — C. ii, 297.

*Analysis.* — For analysis of Group D, see p. 135. — For superstitious uses of stones, see Group D, p. 134. Jet is prescribed in a drink against an elf (see E 14); and Beda (Book I, 1) says, “Jet which is black and sparkling, and when heated, drives away serpents” (cf. the eighth virtue in D 5).

10. — *Stān on wætan*, as in E 14, line 2.

## D 6

*MS.* — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 20 a.

*Editions.* — C. ii, 54; L. 17.

*Translation.* — C. ii, 55.

*Analysis.* — The formula, lines 3–6, is gibberish (see charac. 3, pp. 114 ff.), and is really a jingle spell (cf. Group A, II (a), p. 124). As we have seen, the symbols composing the jingles were often carelessly transposed (cf. note to B 6). The following conjectural rearrangement of lines 3–6 will serve to show the likeness between the formula and the jingle charms: —

"Ægryn thon struth  
argrenn fola struth  
tarton tria ennpiath  
hathu hæl morfana  
on ara carn  
leou groth weorn  
fil crondi weorn  
mro cron ærcrío  
aer leno ermio."

The same formula is found in AA 17, another charm for stanching blood.

D 7

MS. — Cotton Caligula A xv, p. 136 b.

Edition. — C. iii, 290.

Translation. — C. iii, 291.

Analysis. — See Group D, p. 135. — For the formula, lines 4-11, see charac. 3, pp. 114 ff.; and gibberish spells, Group A, II (b), p. 127.

D 8

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 52 b.

Editions. — C. ii, 138; L. 42.

Translations. — C. ii, 139; *Eng. Med.* 109.

Even among the ancient Germans, women played an important part in exorcism and sorcery (see Gum. 389 ff.; Meyer, 306 and 309; *Grógaldr*, 6 ff.); and A 2, line 17, plainly indicates a sorceress. EE 25 is also "against a sorceress." See, moreover, laws 2, 4, 11, 17, and 21 (pp. 140 ff.).

3. — For the formula, see charac. 3, p. 112; also p. 124, note 6. The last symbol probably stands in part for Veronica, and is intended to invoke the miraculous portrait of Christ on that saint's handkerchief (see type 10, p. 158).

D 9

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 53 a.

Editions. — C. ii, 140; L. 43.

Translation. — C. ii, 141.

Analysis. — See analysis of D charms, p. 135. — Cf. the charm with A 18 and with EE 31, both for the same illness.

1. — The formula is the same as that in A 18, line 15 (see note to that line).
2. — *Swigende*. See p. 121.
3. — *Winstran*. See charac. 7, p. 118.
5. — *BPONICE*. Cf. note to D 8, line 4. — *HAMMANyoEL*. See charac. 3 (b), p. 114.

D 10

MS. — Harley 585, p. 183 b.

Editions. — C. iii, 66; L. 149.

Translation. — C. iii, 67.

Analysis. — See Group D, p. 135.

1. — *Pistol*. For *celestial letters*, see p. 153, note 6; also AA 13.
2. — *Böcfelle*. See p. 135.
5. — For the formula, lines 5-11, see charac. 3, pp. 114 ff.
7. — *Beronice*. Cf. note to line 5 in D 9.

10. — *Miserere*, etc. See charms with Christian appendages, first group, p. 154.

## D 11

MS. — Cotton Vitellius E xviii, p. 13 b.

Edition. — C. i, 395.

Translation. — C. i, 395.

Analysis. — For the significance of the circle, see charac. 3 (g), p. 115. — See, further, the discussion on geometrical figures; see also charac. 3 (g), p. 115, and cf. p. 135.

1. — *Columcille*. Cf. "carried to Colme-kill" (*Macbeth*, II, iv, 33). *Cil* or *Kil* is a cell. *Columcill* or *Colme-kil* is the *cell* or *Chapel* of St. Columba on the Island of Iona. The island was inhabited by Druids prior to A. D. 563, when Colum M'Felim M'Fergus, afterwards called St. Columba, landed and preached Christianity. See Furness (Variorum ed.), note to the line in *Macbeth*, cited above.

## D 12

MS. — Cotton Vitellius E xviii, p. 13 b.

Edition. — C. i, 396.

Translation. — C. i, 396.

For a discussion of the geometrical diagram, see p. 135, and charac. 3 (g), p. 115.

## E 1

MS. — Harley 585, p. 185 a.

Editions. — K. i, 528; C. iii, 66; W. i, 326.

Translations. — K. i, 529; C. iii, 67.

Analysis. — The charm consists of a series of five superstitious rituals, any or all of which are to be observed by a woman who wishes to remedy delayed parturition. Each of the superstitious directions includes the recital of certain incantatory phrases (lines 4-6, 9-11, 15, 19-20, and 26-28). The fourth ceremonial (lines 12-15) is the only Christian one, and looks like a later interpolation. — For directions to patients, see charac. 6, p. 117; and for analysis of E charms, pp. 138 ff. — Charms for producing confinement are mentioned in *Sigrdrifumöl*, 9. Other Old English charms for producing speedy childbirth are AA 9, DD 9 (see "herbs," p. 132), DD 14 (see narrative charms, p. 157), and DD 18 (see p. 132).

2. — *Birgenne*. For the influence of the dead in charm practices, see charac. 10, p. 123; cf. also the remedy in EE 17.

17. — *Cildes gebyrzene*. The fourth ceremonial (lines 16-20) contains the same magic rite as the first (lines 1-6), only here we have the additional idea of transferring the activities of the disease-demon.

17. — *Wrȳ < wrēoh*. The form was probably *wrih*, and was altered by the scribe.

21. — *Ānes blēos*. See note to B 7, line 2.

23. — For "running water," see charac. 10, p. 121; and for spitting as a charm practice, see p. 122.

26. — *Gehwēr* (*ē* instead of *æ*). See Sievers, 321, *Anm.* 2. — Lines 30-32 are obscure.

E 2

*MS.* — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 106 a.

*Editions.* — C. ii, 290; L. 88.

*Translation.* — C. ii, 291.

*Analysis.* — The cure is to be effected by expelling the elf and his shots with violent measures (see charac. 4, pp. 115 ff.; and analysis of E charms, p. 138). — Cf. AA 7, DD 10, DD 12, and EE 27, for the same ailment. The remedy in EE 27 is practically the same as in this charm.

2. — *Fealo.* Cf. p. 122.

6. — *Swigende.* Cf. p. 121.

E 3

*MS.* — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 120 a.

*Editions.* — C. ii, 334; L. 102.

*Translations.* — C. ii, 335; *Eng. Med.* 137.

*Analysis.* — For analysis, see pp. 138 ff. For expulsion of demons in lunacy, see charac. 4, p. 115. — Other charm remedies in which fiends are exorcised by violence are EE 13, EE 22, and EE 26.

2. — *Swing mid.* Cf. the *Lebensrute* (Mannhardt, 272), a blow from which shields domestic animals from fatal sicknesses for a year.

E 4

*MS.* — Harley 585, p. 178 a.

*Editions.* — C. iii, 56; L. 145.

*Translation.* — C. iii, 57.

The demons of pestilence are driven away with smoke (see charac. 4, pp. 115 ff.).

4. — *Rēcels.* Added to sanctify the process (see p. 154).

E 5

*MSS.* — Cotton Vitellius C. iii (=V in textual notes), p. 27 b; Bodley Hatton 76 (=B); Harley 585 (=H).

*Edition.* — C. i, 114.

*Translation.* — C. i, 115.

*Analysis.* — Cf. note to E 4; and see analysis of E charms, p. 138. Like E 4 and E 5 are EE 4, EE 7, EE 9, EE 13, and EE 14.

E 6

*MS.* — Harley 585, p. 164 b.

*Editions.* — C. iii, 38; L. 138.

*Translation.* — C. iii, 39.

See p. 138. For the use of mystic letters, see charac. 3 (f), p. 115, and cf. Wuttke, ¶ 243. Concerning the nature of the disease for which this remedy is intended, see notes to charm A 2.

3. — *Macutus, Victorici.* St. Machutus and St. Victoricus were Irish saints of the sixth century.

E 7

*MS.* — Oxford St. John's 17.

*Edition.* — C. i, 394.

*Translation.* — C. i, 394.

For the written formula, see charac. 3 (d), p. 114. Cf. EE 5, where crosses on tongue, head, and breast are prescribed. Cf. also with D 6.



## E 8

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 123 a.

Editions. — C. ii, 344; L. 105.

Translation. — C. ii, 345.

Analysis. — See analysis of E charms, pp. 138 ff. — Magic salves as agents of expulsion are recommended in charms EE 8, EE 16, EE 17, EE 18, EE 19, EE 20, EE 28, and EE 29.

1. — *þām mannum*, etc. Refers to the incubus myth (cf. D 1, note to line 1).

7. — The throwing of the herbs into running water doubtless symbolized the desired carrying-away of the disease or of the disease-demon expelled by the magic salve.

10. — *Rēcelsa and sēna*. A sanctifying formula (see pp. 151 ff.).

## E 9

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 43 a.

Editions. — C. ii, 114; L. 35.

Translations. — C. ii, 115; *Eng. Med.* 123.

2. — *Faul*. See charac. 3 (*d*), p. 114. Pliny (xxviii, 5) has a charm for driving away scorpions, in which one word, *duo*, constitutes the formula.

3. — *Neorxnawonge*. Cf. "sanctification by contact" (pp. 152 ff.).

## E 10

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 43 b.

Editions. — C. ii, 114; L. 35.

Translation. — C. ii, 115.

For charm practices connected with sexual constriction, see p. 138. The same malady is mentioned in D 4 and in BB 13.

2. — *Hāligwæter*. An appended sanctifying word (see p. 154).

## E 11

MSS. — Cotton Vitellius C iii, (= V in textual notes), p. 46 a; Bodley Hatton 76 (= B); Harley 6258 b (= O).

Edition. — C. i, 364.

Translations. — C. i, 365; Brooke, 138.

For exorcism of demons with nauseating foods, see charac. 4, p. 115; and p. 139. — Cf. A 2 and E 6, both "against a dwarf."

1. — *þost*. The same excrement, worked into a drink, will cure a "specter-haunted" man (see Cockayne, i, 365, 14).

## E 12

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 122 b.

Editions. — C. ii, 342; L. 104.

Translations. — C. ii, 343; *Eng. Med.* 137.

*Wifgemædla* is translated in the dictionaries as "woman's talk;" but it is plain that something like "bewitchment" or "spell" is meant (see laws 2 and 17, pp. 140 ff.). — Eating swallow-nestlings produces miraculous results in EE 24.

## E 13

MS. — Harley 585, p. 189 a.

Editions. — K. i, 530; C. iii, 74; L. 152.

Translations. — C. iii, 75; *Eng. Med.* 118.

*Analysis.* — See analysis of E charms, p. 138. — The cure is to be effected by running water (see charac. 10, p. 121).

5. — *Crēdan*, etc. Cf. "substitution of church formulas" (pp. 147 ff.).

E 14

*MS.* — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 107 b.

*Editions.* — C. ii, 296; L. 89.

*Translation.* — C. ii, 297.

For elves and their influence, see Group E, p. 137.

1. — *Uncūþum sidsan*. Cf. *yflum gealdorcraeftum* (D 4, line 6). Evidently bewitchment by mischief-working sorcerers is meant (see p. 138). Ten other remedies in which a thaumaturgic drink is prescribed are EE 1, EE 2, EE 6, EE 10, EE 11, EE 12, EE 15, EE 21, EE 25, and EE 29. In contrast to E 14, these charms are all distinctly Christian in form, and most of the potions have holy water as an ingredient.

2. — *Rēcelses*. See note to E 8, line 15. — *Gāgates*. Cf. D 5.